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EIGHTEEN PRESIDENTS

AND

CONTEMPORANEOUS RULERS.

W. A. TAYLOR.



SECOND EDITION: REVISED AND ENLARGED.

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PREFACE.

WHILE it is not proposed in this volume to give all the political measures that came up for the consideration of the various Administrations from the Presidency of George Washington down to the present, or, in fact, attempt a political history of the various Administrations, it gives all the statistics relating to the Presidential office, with accurate biographical notes of all the incumbents and aspirants for the offices of President and Vice-President, as well as of every statesman connected with each Administration; a complete list of all the Cabinet Ministers, Cabinet changes, etc.; the vote for President and Vice-President at every election, besides a large amount of other statistical information, compiled from the official records, relating directly, as well as indirectly, to the Presidency and the contemporaneous rulers of the principal nations of Europe, such as is to be found in no other published work.

W. A. TAYLOR.

PITTSBURGH, PA., May, 1876.

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EIGHTEEN PRESIDENTS

AND

CONTEMPORANEOUS RULERS.

I.

INASMUCH as we are now upon the eve of a grand Centennial celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of our Independence Day, which will occur on the Fourth of July, 1876, a brief review of our past history, as regards those who have ruled us during the century, cannot but be appropriate.

Thirteen years after the date of our "Declaration," having established a Constitution, which superseded our Articles of Confederation—which though not "without form" were very nearly "void," as far as their injunctions and requisitions on the States were regarded—thirteen years after the "Declaration," our first President was inaugurated. As the present incumbent will be President until the 4th of March, 1877, and continue in office during the Centennial period, it is proposed to briefly sketch each of our eighteen Chief Magistrates, who they were, how they were "armed and equipped" for their great offices, and how each obtained his distinguished honors; with brief reference, by way of parallel, to the contemporaneous rulers of the leading powers of Europe.

It would seem that the hereditary rulers of the Old World, about the time we had, through eight years of suffering and sacrifice, and the life-blood of thousands of brave men, secured the right to select our own rulers, were worse than the average of those who claim to rule by divine right.

In a letter written in 1810, Mr. Jefferson, who was in Paris during the French Revolution, and whose active and comprehensive mind was able to take in the most complete view of the situation, when the thrones began to totter, thus sketches the reigning sovereigns of Europe when the agitation in France began:

"I often amused myself with contemplating the characters of the then reigning sovereigns of Europe. Louis XVI. was a fool, of my own knowledge, and despite the answers made for him at his trial. The King of Spain was a fool, and of Naples the same. They passed their lives in hunting, and dispatched two couriers a week one thousand miles, to let each other know what game they had killed the preceding days. King of Sardinia was a fool. All these were Bourbons. The Queen of Portugal, a Braganza, was an idiot by nature. And so was the King of Denmark. Their sons, as Regents, exercised the powers of government. The King of Prussia, son of the Great Frederick, was a mere hog in body as well as in mind. Gustavus of Sweden, and Joseph of Austria, were really crazy, and George of England, you know, was in a straight waistcoat. [His son was made Regent after this was written.] There remained, then, none but old Catharine (of Russia), who had been too lately picked up to have lost her common sense. In this state Bonaparte found Europe, and it was this state of its rulers that lost it with scarcely a struggle."

The catalogue was no doubt truthfully given, and we must admit that the list on which old "Catharine" stands at the head, could not be very remarkable for either good morals, talents, or education. But for the present we shall consider our own rulers.





GEORGE WASHINGTON.



I. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

1789-1793.

GEORGE WASHINGTON was born on the Potomac River, in Westmoreland County, Virginia, February 22, 1732. His education was secured at the ordinary schools in the vicinity. and he never entered college. In early manhood he followed civil engineering. He was made a Lieutenant-Colonel of militia in 1754, and accompanied Braddock in his expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1755. In the same year he was made Commander-in-Chief of the Military forces of the Colony of Virginia. He was married to Mrs. Martha Custis, in January, 1759, and resigned his military commission. June 15, 1775, he was unanimously elected by the Continental Congress as Commander-in-Chief of the revolutionary forces, and assumed command July 2, 1775, and held the supreme military command throughout the revolutionary struggle. In May, 1787, he was unanimously chosen President of the Convention that met to frame a Constitution. In 1788 and in 1792 he was unanimously chosen President of the United States, and declined a third election. He died at Mt. Vernon, December 14, 1799.

With George Washington for our first President, we began our new experiment in the manner of choosing rulers, taking the surest possible mode, as all the world then thought, of selecting the "fittest."

That Washington was the best fitted man then living for the place to which he was called, there are none now so captious as to dispute. Those who questioned whether he did the best that could be done, either as Commander-in-Chief, or as President, were silenced and borne down by the grandeur, dignity, and severe justice of his character and the great results of his administration, and the bitter things men said of him, when remembered at all, are regretted and forgiven. If ever a man tried to be impartial, and act without passion and partizanship in public affairs, that man was George Washington. He certainly was a measureless height above any Chief Magistrate or Ruler of any other country contemporary with him. There is no doubt that he was a Federalist in politics—that he believed that the preponderance of power should be in the Central Government—but he had presided over the Convention which framed the Constitution—he knew the feelings, purposes, and desires of the members, and, while he feared that our plan of government was, perhaps, an experiment that would fail, he would have given, as he said in calm determination, his "last. drop of blood" to ensure it a fair trial.

His personal dignity; his laborious and attentive official habits; his severe economy in the expenditure of the public moneys; his detestation of favoritism and nepotism; his contempt for those who "crooked the pregnant hinges of the knee that thrift might follow fawning," all marked him as possessing the qualities needed for the first President of the United States, in the then peculiar condition of their internal policy, of their treasury, and of their relations to the world at large; and eminently the man to set a fit and commanding example to all his successors so long as the Republic shall continue to exist.

The whole number of electoral votes, sixty-nine, were cast

for Washington for President; and John Adams was chosen Vice-President without any opposition. The first Cabinet selected by President Washington was as follows:

Secretary of State—Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia.

Secretary of the Treasury—Alexander Hamilton, of New York.

Secretary of War—Henry Knox, of Massachusetts.

Attorney-General—Edmund Randolph, of Virginia.

Postmaster-General—Samuel Osgood, of Massachusetts.

There were no cabinet changes during Washington's first administration.

II. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

1793-1797.

IN 1792 Washington was a candidate for a second term of the Presidency, while John Adams and George Clinton, of New York, were aspirants for the second place. Washington received all the electoral votes cast, one hundred and thirtytwo, and Adams received seventy-seven, Clinton fifty, and five scattering votes.

Shortly after the beginning of his second administration there was a reorganization of the Cabinet. Thomas Jefferson differed with Alexander Hamilton on matters of policy, and resigned in consequence on the 31st of December, 1793. The new Cabinet was as follows:

Secretary of State—Edmund Randolph, of Virginia.

Secretary of the Treasury—Alexander Hamilton, of New York.

Secretary of War-Henry Knox, of Massachusetts.

Attorney-General—William Bradford, of Pennsylvania.

Postmaster-General—Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts.

The Postmaster-General was not a Cabinet minister until the time of Jackson's first Administration. At the close of the year 1794 General Knox resigned, and was succeeded by Timothy Pickering, January 2, 1795. Joseph Habersham, of Georgia, was made Postmaster-General. On the 31st of January, 1795, Hamilton resigned, and was succeeded by Oliver Wolcott. At the same time Randolph resigned, and Timothy Pickering became Secretary of State, and James McHenry, of Maryland, became Secretary of War. Bradford died in 1795, and was succeeded by Charles Lee. This changed the entire complexion of the Cabinet, in fact constituted a new one, which at the close of the term was as follows:

Secretary of State—Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts.
Secretary of the Treasury—Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut.
Secretary of War—James McHenry, of Maryland.
Attorney-General—Charles Lee, of Virginia.
Postmaster-General—Joseph Habersham, of Georgia.







JOHN ADAMS.



III. JOHN ADAMS.

1797-1801.

John Adams was born in Baintree, Massachusetts, October 19, 1735. He graduated at Harvard College in 1755, and, abandoning the idea of becoming a minister of the gospel, was admitted to the bar in 1758. He was one of the delegates first sent to the Continental Congress from Massachusetts. He was made President of the Board of War in 1776, and went to France as a Commissioner in 1777. He was sent as Minister to negotiate a treaty of peace and commerce with England in 1779. He was Minister to Holland in 1780, and was one of the four Commissioners, viz., Adams, Franklin, Jay, and Laurens, that concluded the treaty of peace with England, November 30, 1782. He was Minister to England from May, 1785, until the spring of 1788. He died at Quincy, Massachusetts, July 4, 1826.

Other men, perhaps, did as much as he to light the revolutionary flame and feed it with the substantial fuel of solid and profound and polished argument, but none labored more constantly and effectively. He was a scholar, a statesman, and an orator of the first attainments.

Whether painful experience of the loose, ill-settled and worse observed sanctions of the Articles of Confederation, or from a limited confidence in the capacity of man for self-government, or from both these causes combined, he honestly believed that the Federal power should predominate over State in almost everything, and he spared no pains, while he was President, to make the strong hand of the central government felt everywhere.

His interpretation of the Presidential duty was rejected by the people, and if he made the Federal power to be feared during his term, he also provoked toward it general resistance and detestation. But apart from the tendency to encourage the perhaps too rapid acquisition of a national naval armament, his administration was not extravagant. And while he yielded less to the popular demand for power than Jefferson, he never looked upon the people as proper subjects for pecuniary speculation and spoliation.

He went down because his theory of administering the government was not popular—his administration was certainly vigorous—and believing that the British Constitution was the best form of government ever devised by the wit of man—and preferring the British nation to his own, his partiality to that country, its people, and its government, was so marked as to call forth much censure upon Mr. Adams and his administration.

The first contest for the Presidency occurred in 1796, Adams being the Federal candidate, and Thomas Jefferson being the Republican or Democratic candidate. Thomas C. Pinckney and Aaron Burr were the candidates for Vice-President. The issue between the two parties, then being clearly defined, was the limitation of the powers of the government—Adams and the Federal party favoring the concentration of power in the hands of the general government, and Jefferson and the Democrats opposing.

Until the adoption of the Twelfth Amendment to the Con-

stitution in 1804, the person receiving the highest number of electoral votes, being a majority of the whole, was elected President, and the next highest, Vice-President. The result of the election was:

John Adams, .				71 votes.
Thomas Jefferson, .				69 ''
Thomas C. Pinckney,				59 ''
Aaron Burr,				30 ''
Scattering, .				48 ''

The vote by States was as follows: For Adams—New Hampshire, 6; Vermont, 4; Massachusetts, 16; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 9; New York, 12; New Jersey, 7; Pennsylvania, 1; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 7; Virginia, 1; North Carolina, 1. For Jefferson—Pennsylvania, 14; Maryland, 4; Virginia, 20; North Carolina, 11; South Carolina, 8; Georgia, 4; Tennessee, 3; Kentucky, 4.

The result was that Adams became President, and Jefferson Vice-President. President Adams retained Washington's Cabinet as follows:

Secretary of State—Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts.

Secretary of the Treasury—Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut.

Secretary of War—James McHenry, of Maryland.

Secretary of the Navy (new dept.)—Benjamin Stoddart. Attorney-General—Charles Lee, of Virginia.

Postmaster-General—Joseph Habersham, of Georgia.

George Cabot, of Massachusetts, acted as Secretary of the Navy from May 3 to May 21, 1798.

From the beginning of President Adams' term there was no harmony existing between him and Secretaries Pickering and McHenry, and on the first day of May, 1800, they were abruptly dismissed. John Marshall, of Virginia, was chosen to the State, and Samuel Dexter, of Massachusetts, to the War Department. On the 31st of December, 1800, Oliver Wolcott resigned the Treasury, and Mr. Dexter filled his place. Toward the close of the year 1800, Mr. Adams' Cabinet was, therefore, as follows:

Secretary of State—John Marshall, of Virginia.
Secretary of the Treasury—Samuel Dexter, of Massachusetts.
Secretary of War—Samuel Dexter (acting).
Secretary of the Navy—Benjamin Stoddert, of Maryland.
Attorney-General—Charles Lee, of Virginia.
Postmaster-General—Joseph Habersham, of Georgia.







THOMAS JEFFERSON.



IV. THOMAS JEFFERSON.

1801-1805.

THOMAS JEFFERSON was born at Shadwell, Virginia, April 2, 1743. He graduated from William and Mary College, and adopted the profession of the law. He became a member of the Continental Congress June 21, 1775. In 1776 he wrote the Declaration of Independence. He was elected Governor of Virginia in 1779; became a member of Congress in 1783; was Minister-Plenipotentiary in 1784, and Minister to France in 1785. Died at Monticello, July 4, 1826.

Mr. Jefferson came into power after a severe contest, in which, owing to the machinations of the bad and brilliant Aaron Burr, he succeeded by one vote only, although but for Burr's defection he would have had a decided majority. He represented those who claimed that the preponderance of power should be retained by the States and the State governments, in preference to centralizing it at the Federal metropolis; that the people would have a more strict accountability from their agents, the closer those agents were to those whom they served; that nothing should be done by the Federal authority that could be done by the people in townships, cities, or States.

Mr. Jefferson had given the entire labor of his life and of his great abilities to the popular "home rule" side of this then novel theory of government. Although bred to the law, he was more of a statesman, thinker, and writer than his predecessor, Mr. Adams, whose great force lay in his eloquence and legal learning. Besides the famous "Declaration of Independence," his contributions to the statute books and Constitutions, both in his own State and in the United States, are rich in legacies of his learning, and his profound and ingenious intellect.

He was a man of varied and extraordinary acquirements—his forecast was wonderful—and whoever has read his predictions as to certain measures of government, and par ticularly as to the result of African slavery in this country, will be struck with wonder at his prophetic wisdom.

The issue in 1800 was again the limitation of the powers of the Federal government, Jefferson and Burr being the Democratic candidates, and John Adams and Charles C. Pinckney being the Federal candidates. The following was the electoral vote:

Thomas Jefferson, .					73	votes.
John Adams, .			•		65	66
Aaron Burr,					73	66
Charles C. Pinckney,					64	66

The vote by States was: For Jefferson—New York, 12; Pennsylvania, 8; Maryland, 5; Virginia, 21; North Carolina, 8; South Carolina, 8; Georgia, 4; Tennessee, 3; Kentucky, 4. Burr received the same vote. For Adams—New Hampshire, 6; Vermont, 4; Massachusetts, 16; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 9; New Jersey, 7; Pennsylvania, 7; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 5; North Carolina, 4. The tie between Jefferson and Burr made it necessary for the House of Representatives to elect a President, which it dide in the session of 1800–1, on the 36th ballot, Mr. Burr being chosen Vice-President. But his attempts to reach the Presidency lost him the confidence and respect of his party. This danger

was subsequently removed by the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution. Messrs. Stoddert and Dexter were retained for a short time in Mr. Jefferson's Cabinet, which was finally organized as follows:

Secretary of State—James Madison, of Virginia.

Secretary of the Treasury—Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania.

Secretary of War—Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts. Secretary of the Navy—Robert Smith, of Maryland. Attorney-General—Levi Lincoln, of Massachusetts. Postmaster-General—Gideon Granger, of Georgia.

V. THOMAS JEFFERSON.

1805-1809.

THOMAS JEFFERSON was a candidate for re-election in 1804, with George Clinton, who was born at Newark, New Jersey, in February, 1756, and died in New York, 1836, for Vice-President. The Federal candidate for President was Charles C. Pinckney, born at Charleston, South Carolina, February, 1746, died at the same place in 1825. Rufus King was the Federal candidate for Vice-President. The issue between the two parties was substantially the same as at the previous election. The result of the election was:

Thomas Jefferson,				162	votes.
Charles C. Pinckney,				14	"
George Clinton,				162	66
Rufus King, .				14	66

The vote by States was: For Jefferson—New Hampshire, 7; Vermont, 6; Massachusetts, 19; Virginia, 24; Rhode Island,

- 4; New York, 19; New Jersey, 8; Pennsylvania, 20; Maryland,
- 9; North Carolina, 14; South Carolina, 10; Georgia, 6; Ten-

nessee, 5; Kentucky, 8; Ohio, 3. For Pinckney—Connecticut, 9; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 2. President Jefferson's Cabinet remained unchanged during his second administration, as follows:

Secretary of State—James Madison, of Virginia.
Secretary of the Treasury—Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania.
Secretary of War—Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts.
Secretary of the Navy—Robert Smith, of Maryland.
Attorney-General—Levi Lincoln, of Massachusetts.
Postmaster-General—Gideon Granger, of Georgia.







JAMES MADISON.



VI. JAMES MADISON.

1809-1813.

JAMES MADISON was born in King George county, Virginia, March 16, 1751, and graduated from Princeton College in 1771, after which he studied law. Was elected to the Continental Congress in 1779, also in 1786, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention. He served in Congress from 1789 to 1797. He died at Montpelier, Virginia, June 28, 1836. By his studies and experience, James Madison was eminently qualified for the Presidential office. He was, perhaps, the most attentive, laborious, and painstaking member of the Convention which framed the Constitution, and he well deserves the title of "Father of the Constitution." The only reliable and correct record of the proceedings of the Convention was kept by him. Jefferson's Secretary of State for the entire term of eight years of his Presidential service, he was through life the trusted friend of the sage and seer of Monticello.

The second war with Great Britain was agitated, declared, fought, and finished during his two terms, and the issue was considered triumphant by his own nation and by the world. He was a most careful ruler, and was even thought to be a timid one by certain dashing and demonstrative spirits, but he left behind him the reputation of an honest, wise, and competent Chief Magistrate.

James Madison was selected by the Democratic caucus of Congress for President, and George Clinton for Vice-Presi-

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dent. Messrs. Charles C. Pinckney and Rufus King were the Federal candidates, with no material change in the political issues. The result of the election was:

James Madison, .				122 V	otes.
Charles C. Pinckney,				47	"
George Clinton, .	•	•		113	"
Rufus King, .				47	66
Scattering,				9	"

The following was the vote by States: For Madison—Vermont, 6; New York, 13; New Jersey, 8; Pennsylvania, 20; Maryland, 9; Virginia, 24; North Carolina, 11; South Carolina, 10; Georgia, 6; Tennessee, 5; Kentucky, 7; Ohio, 3. For Pinckney—New Hampshire, 7; Massachusetts, 19; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 9; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 2; North Carolina, 3.

The Cabinet appointed by Mr. Madison was as follows:

Secretary of State—Robert Smith, of Maryland.

Secretary of the Treasury—Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania. Secretary of War—William Eustis, of Massachusetts.

Secretary of the Navy—Paul Hamilton, of South Carolina.

Attorney-General—Cæsar A. Rodney, of Delaware.

Postmaster-General—Gideon Granger, of Georgia.

In November, 1811, James Monroe succeeded Robert Smith in the State Department, and in December of the same year William Pinckney succeeded C. A. Rodney as Attorney-General. On the 12th of January, 1813, William Jones, of Pennsylvania, was made Secretary of the Navy in place of Hamilton, resigned, and Gen. John Armstrong, of New York, Secretary of War, in place of Eustis, resigned.

VII. JAMES MADISON.

1813-1817.

THE issues of the campaign of 1812 grew directly out of the then pending war with Great Britain, the Democrats favoring

and the Federalists opposing it. Elbridge Gerry, who was born in Massachusetts in 1744, and died in November, 1814, while in office, was associated with Madison on the Democratic ticket. The Federal candidates were De Witt Clinton, born at Little Britain, Orange county, New York, March 2, 1769, and who died in February, 1828, at Albany, New York, and Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, born in Connecticut in 1749, and who died at Philadelphia in 1822. The election resulted:

James Madison,						128	votes.
De Witt Clinton,		1 .		. •	•	89	66
Elbridge Gerry,						131	"
Jared Ingersoll,						86	66

By States the vote was: For Madison—Vermont, 8; Pennsylvania, 25; Maryland, 6; Virginia, 25; North Carolina, 15; South Carolina, 11; Georgia, 8; Louisiana, 3; Tennessee, 8; Kentucky, 12; Ohio, 7. For Clinton—New Hampshire, 8; Massachusetts, 22; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 9; New York, 29; New Jersey, 8; Delaware, 4; Maryland, 5.

During President Madison's second term there were a number of cabinet changes. In February, 1814, Gallatin resigned, and was succeeded by George W. Campbell, of Tennessee. Campbell resigned in September of the same year, as did Pinckney and Granger. In 1814 the Cabinet was reorganized, as follows:

Secretary of State-James Monroe, of Virginia.

Secretary of the Treasury—Alexander J. Dallas, of Pennsylvania.

Secretary of War—Wm. H. Crawford, of Georgia Secretary of the Navy—Benj. W. Crowninshield, of Massachusetts.

Attorney-General—Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania. Postmaster-General—Return J. Meigs, of Ohio.



VIII. JAMES MONROE.

1817-1821.

James Monroe was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, April 28, 1758, and was educated at William and Mary College. He first became a lieutenant in the army under Washington, and was wounded at Trenton, where he was promoted to be a captain. He served as aid to Lord Sterling until 1778, when he retired from the army and studied law with Jefferson. He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1783; was elected United States Senator in 1790; went as minister to France in 1794; Governor of Virginia from 1799 to 1802; envoy to France for the purchase of Louisiana in 1802; again Governor of Virginia, 1810; died in the city of New York, July 4, 1831.

Mr. Monroe was elected and served his two terms during what was designated as "the era of good feeling" between the old and contending parties, but at the same time it was marked with a general depression of trade, manufactures, and general business, consequent upon the exhausting effects of the war. Mr. Monroe was in the public service, either in a military or civil capacity, almost constantly from the breaking out of the Revolutionary War.

He entered the American army at the age of eighteen, studied law with Jefferson, with whom he continued in the



JAMES MONROE.



closest intimacy until Jefferson's decease. He was considered a safe and a successful, but not a brilliant statesman, and he had graduated at the feet of his two eminent predecessors.

Thus far the Presidents had come from the active Revolutionary generation. Each of them had shared in the first struggle with Great Britain, and had borne a prominent part in it; some of them were distinguished in the second contest with that power. They were all soldiers who had fought side by side in "the cause of mankind," which the American Revolution has always been truly called. They had battled for more than the mere "Independence" of the country from Great Britain. They had founded and reared an entirely new system of government.

Daniel D. Tompkins, born in New York, 1774, and died June, 1825, was on the Democratic ticket with Monroe. The Federal candidate was Rufus King, born at Scarborough, Maine, 1775, and died April, 1827. There was no Federal candidate for Vice-President. The election resulted:

James Monroe,					183	votes.
Rufus King,					34	"
D. D. Tompkins,					183	66
Scattering,					34	6.6

The vote by States was: For Monroe—New Hampshire, 8; Vermont, 8; Massachusetts, 4; New York, 29; New Jersey, 8; Pennsylvania, 25; Maryland, 8; Virginia, 25; North Carolina, 15; South Carolina, 11; Georgia, 8; Louisiana, 3; Tennessee, 8; Kentucky, 12; Ohio, 8; Indiana, 3. For King-Massachusetts, 22; Connecticut, 9; Delaware, 3.

President Monroe entered upon the duties of his office by appointing the following Cabinet:

Secretary of State—John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts. Secretary of the Treasury—Wm. H. Crawford, of Georgia. Secretary of War-John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina. Secretary of the Navy-Smith Thompson, of New York. Attorney-General—William Wirt, of Maryland.

Postmaster-General-Return J. Meigs, of Ohio.

Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky, was first tendered the office of Secretary of War, but declined.

IX. JAMES MONROE.

1821-1825.

In 1820 there was no opposition to President Monroe or Vice-President Tompkins. Monroe received the electoral vote (231) of every State except one vote in Massachusetts that was cast for John Quincy Adams. Mr. Tompkins received 218 votes, and 14 were scattering. The only changes made in the Cabinet were Samuel L. Southard, of New Jersey, in place of Thompson, as Secretary of the Navy, and John McLean, of Ohio, in place of Meigs, as Postmaster-General. These changes were made December 9, 1823.







JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.



X. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

1825-1829.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was born at Baintree, Massachusetts, July 11, 1767. He was educated abroad, at Paris, Leyden, and Hague; studied law, and was admitted in 1791; was elected Senator from Massachusetts in 1803, and resigned in 1808; Minister to Russia in 1809; Minister to England from 1815 to 1817; served in Congress after his Presidential term; died at Washington, February 23, 1848.

With Mr. Monroe, the old Revolutionary generation went out of the Presidency, and in 1825, John Quincy Adams, son of the second President, was inaugurated the sixth. His capacity to perform the duties of the office, we suppose, has never been seriously called in question. The companion and pupil of his father while he was a foreign minister, he learned the ways of diplomacy and of the chief magistracy as less favored men learn the profession by which they expect to gain their livelihood, their fortune, or their fame.

He was the only one of our Presidents, indeed, who had served an "apprenticeship" in the art and mystery of governing a great nation. That he was proud of the rare distinction of having been promoted to the exalted place his father had occupied, there can be no doubt, and whatever men may think of the accident or the manner of his advancement, or of the

remarkable and startling change of views that followed, none will dispute his acquaintance with the details of the duties he was called upon to perform, nor of his fair intentions to perform his duty well.

The bitter contest of 1825 was one for personal preferment, rather than of political issues, as all the candidates were substantially Democrats. Its result was the formation of the Whig party as a distinctive organization, in the place of the Federal party, and with more liberal views. Four candidates were brought forward, and each was warmly upheld by his faction. They were Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; Wm. H. Crawford, of Georgia, and Henry Clay, of Kentucky. The result of the election was as follows:

Andrew Jackson,				99 Y	votes.
John Quincy Adams,				84	66
Wm. H. Crawford,				41	66
Henry Clay, .				37	66

The vote by States was: For Jackson—New York, I; New Jersey, 8; Pennsylvania, 28; Maryland, 7; North Carolina, 15; South Carolina, 11; Alabama, 5; Mississippi, 3; Louisiana, 3; Tennessee, 11; Indiana, 5; Illinois, 2. For Adams—Maine, 9; New Hampshire, 8; Vermont, 7; Massachusetts, 15; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 8; New York, 26; Delaware, I; Maryland, 3; Louisiana, 2; Illinois, I. For Crawford—New York, 5; Delaware, 2; Maryland, 1; Virginia, 24; Georgia, 9. For Clay—New York, 4; Kentucky, 14; Ohio, 16; Missouri, 3.

John C. Calhoun was elected Vice-President, receiving 182 votes, Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, receiving 24, and Nathaniel Sandford, of New York, 30. There being no election for President, it devolved upon the House of Representatives to make a choice from the three highest. Mr. Clay gave his influence to Mr. Adams, and the latter was elected. Each State being entitled to one vote, the election in the House resulted as follows: Adams—Maine, New Hampshire, Ver-

mont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Maryland, Alabama, Kentucky, Ohio, Missouri, Louisiana—thirteen States. Jackson—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Mississippi, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois—seven States. Crawford—Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Delaware—four States.

President Adams selected the following Cabinet, placing one of his competitors for the Presidency in the most responsible position.

Secretary of State—Henry Clay, of Kentucky.

Secretary of the Treasury—Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania.

Secretary of War—James Barbour, of Virginia.

Secretary of the Navy-Samuel L. Southard, of New Jersey.

Attorney-General-William Wirt, of Maryland.

Postmaster-General—John McLean, of Ohio.

Wm. H. Crawford was offered the position of Secretary of the Treasury, but declined. In May, 1828, Mr. Barbour was appointed Minister to England, and on the 28th of the same month, Peter B. Porter was made Secretary of War.





XI. ANDREW JACKSON.

1829-1833.

Andrew Jackson was born in Waxhaw Settlement, North or South Carolina, March 15, 1767. His means of education were very limited. In 1788 he removed to Nashville, Tennessee, where he began the practice of law. He was elected a Representative in Congress, in 1796, and a Senator from Tennessee, in 1797; in 1798 he resigned his seat in the Senate; was a judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, from 1798 to 1804; held an important command in the army during the war of 1812, defeating the British at New Orleans; successfully conducted the Seminole war in 1817–18; appointed Governor of Florida, in 1821; died at the Hermitage, near Nashville, June 8, 1845.

In 1828, after a political campaign of unprecedented bitterness, which had lasted for four years, Andrew Jackson was elected to the Presidency, and installed in office in 1829. He had been a law judge and a Senator of the United States. He had, during his entire life, taken an active interest in public affairs, as his letters to President Monroe and other writings and doings of his, abundantly show. But to this must be added the fame and prestige of a most successful military career, which marked him as one eminently fitted to be a ruler of men. His official period was signalized by the most exciting political



ANDREW JACKSON.



discussions, wherein he was always a central figure, showing that he was entitled to the honors of a successful leader in peace as well as in war.

Jackson was the Democratic candidate for Presidency, and John C. Calhoun for the Vice-Presidency, while the then crystalizing Whig party supported John Quincy Adams and Richard Rush of Pennsylvania. The election resulted:

Andrew Jackson,					178	votes.
John Quincy Adams,					83	"
John C. Calhoun,					171	"
Richard Rush, .					83	"
Scattering (Wm. Smith,	S.	C.),			7	"

The following was the vote by States: For Jackson—Maine, 1; New York, 20; Pennsylvania, 28; Maryland, 5; Virginia, 24; North Carolina, 15; South Carolina, 11; Georgia, 9; Alabama, 5; Mississippi, 3; Louisiana, 5; Tennessee, 11; Kentucky, 14; Ohio, 16; Indiana, 5; Illinois, 3; Missouri, 3. For Adams—Maine, 8; New Hampshire, 8; Vermont, 7; Massachusetts, 15; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 8; New York, 16; New Jersey, 8; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 6.

President Jackson's Cabinet at the beginning of his first administration was constituted as follows:

Secretary of State—Martin Van Buren, of New York.

Secretary of the Treasury—Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania.

Secretary of War-John H. Eaton, of Tennessee.

Secretary of the Navy-John Branch, of North Carolina.

Attorney-General—John M. Berrien, of Georgia.

Postmaster-General—Wm. T. Barry, of Kentucky.

On the 7th and 11th of April, 1831, Eaton and Van Buren resigned without assigning any reasons therefor. Two months later, Ingham and Branch resigned at the request of the President, and Berrien, feeling himself reflected upon, sent in his resignation on the 15th of June. This break in the Cabinet is attributed to the intrigues of Vice-President Calhoun. In 1831 the Cabinet was reorganized as follows:

Secretary of State—Edward Livingston, of Louisiana.

Secretary of the Treasury-Louis McLane, of Delaware.

Secretary of War-Lewis Cass, of Ohio.

Secretary of the Navy—Levi Woodbury, of New Hamp-shire.

Attorney-General—Roger B. Taney, of Maryland. Postmaster-General—Amos Kendall, of Kentucky.

XII. ANDREW JACKSON.

1833-1837.

The nomination of Presidential Candidates by "conventions," as the term is now understood and applied, dates from the year 1832. At the previous election, Jackson had been nominated by the Legislature of Tennessee and other States, as well as by several bodies of citizens and Conventions, but the first regularly constituted Convention of a party as an organized body, and fulfilling all the assumed functions of the old Congressional Caucus, met at Baltimore, on the 22d of May, 1832, and designated Jackson and Van Buren as the Democratic candidates. The Whig candidates, less "regularly" nominated, were Henry Clay, and John Sergeant of Pennsylvania, born at Philadelphia, 1779, and died in 1852. At the same time William Wirt, of Maryland, and Amos Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, were the anti-Masonic candidates.

The leading issue of the campaign grew out of the question of the re-charter of the National Bank, the Whigs favoring and the Democrats opposing it. The following was the electoral vote cast:

John Floyd, .					11	votes.
Wm. Wirt, .	•	•			7	"
Martin Van Buren,	•		•		189	66
John Sergeant,					49	"
Amos Ellmaker,					7	66
Scattering, .					30	66

The State of South Carolina refused to vote for either of the candidates, and gave her eleven votes to Gov. John Floyd, of Virginia, who was not a candidate. The result of the election by States was: For Jackson—Maine, 10; New Hampshire, 7; New York, 42; New Jersey, 8; Pennsylvania, 30; Maryland, 3; Virginia, 23; North Carolina, 15; Georgia, 11; Alabama, 7; Mississippi, 4; Louisiana, 5; Kentucky, 15; Ohio, 21; Indiana, 9; Illinois, 5; Missouri, 4. For Clay—Massachusetts, 14; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 8; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 5; Tennessee, 15. For Wm. Wirt—Vermont, 7. For John Floyd—South Carolina, 11.

During Jackson's second term there were a number of Cabinet changes. In 1833 Edward Livingston resigned to fill the English mission. Louis McLane, refusing to carry out the President's instructions and remove the government deposits, was transferred from the Treasury to the State Department, and Wm. J. Duane, of Pennsylvania, appointed to the Treasury. Mr. Duane also refused to agree to the removal of the deposits; he was requested to resign, and refused, whereupon the President removed him from office, and appointed Roger B. Tanev. of Maryland, to his place. The Senate, however, refused to confirm Mr. Taney's appointment. The Treasury Department was filled in 1834, by the transfer of Levi Woodbury from the Navy Department. Benj. F. Butler, of New York, succeeded Taney as Attorney-General in 1833. In 1834 McLane resigned the State Department, and was succeeded by John Forsyth, of Georgia. In the same year Mahlon Dickerson, of New Jersey, was made Secretary of the Navy. In May, 1835, Mr. Barry was sent as Minister to Spain, and was succeeded by Amos Kendall, of Kentucky, as Postmaster-General.

Toward the close of the administration, the Cabinet was as follows:

Secretary of State—John Forsyth, of Georgia.

Secretary of the Treasury—Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire.

Secretary of War-Lewis Cass, of Ohio.

Secretary of the Navy-Mahlon Dickerson, of New York.

Attorney-General—Benjamin F. Butler, of New York.

Postmaster-General—Amos Kendall, of Kentucky.







MARTIN VAN BUREN.



XIII. MARTIN VAN BUREN.

1837-1841.

MARTIN VAN BUREN was born at Kinderhook, New York, December 5, 1782. He was educated at the academy in his native village, studied law, and was admitted to practice in 1803; was elected United States Senator in 1821, and again in 1828; was appointed Minister to England in 1831, but the Whig Senate refused to confirm the appointment. He died near Kinderhook, on the 24th of July, 1862.

A characteristic successor of the nervous and indomitable Jackson was Martin Van Buren, an aspiring and an untiring politician,

"Who scorned delights and lived laborious days,"

in the pursuit of a laudable ambition. He was an accomplished professor of the science of government, who fought his way inch by inch to the highest place in the people's gift. He was a wary and careful manager, who knew his own purposes and the reasons for his decisions, and was not to be easily turned aside from them. He retired from office, and no just reproach could be cast upon his name or official conduct.

On the 20th of May, 1835, the Democratic Convention met at Baltimore, and nominated Van Buren and Richard M. Johnson, born in Kentucky in 1780, and died in 1850. Wm. H. Harrison, of Ohio, and Francis Granger, of New York, born in Connecticut, 1787, and died in August, 1868, were the Whig candidates, and were nominated originally by public meetings in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and other States. The result of the election was:

Martin Van Buren,				170	votes.
Wm. H. Harrison,				73	66
Richard M. Johnson,				147	66
Francis Granger.				 77	66

The vote by States was: For Van Buren—Maine, 10: New Hampshire, 7; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 8; New York, 42; Pennsylvania, 30; Virginia, 23; North Carolina, 15; Alabama, 7; Mississippi, 4; Louisiana, 5; Illinois, 5; Missouri, 4; Arkansas, 3; Michigan, 3. For Harrison—Vermont, 7; New Jersey, 8; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 10; Kentucky, 15; Ohio, 21; Indiana, 9; South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Massachusetts, did not vote for either of the candidates, but scattered their ballots.

Mr. Van Buren selected the following Cabinet:

Secretary of State-John Forsyth, of Georgia.

Secretary of the Treasury—Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire.

Secretary of War-Joel R. Poinsett, of South Carolina.

Secretary of the Navy-Mahlon Dickerson, of New York.

Attorney-General—Benj. F. Butler, of New York.

Postmaster-General—Amos Kendall, of Kentucky.

Attorney-General Butler resigned in 1838, and was temporarily succeeded by Felix Grundy, of Tennessee, who, in 1839, was succeeded by Henry_D. Gilpin, of Pennsylvania. In 1838 Mahlon Dickerson resigned, and was succeeded by James K. Paulding, of New York. May 25, 1840, Amos Kendall resigned as Postmaster-General, and was succeeded by John M. Niles, of Connecticut.





WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.



XIV. WILLIAM H. HARRISON.

1841.

WILLIAM H. HARRISON was born in Charles City county, Virginia, February 9, 1773. He entered the army in 1791, after graduating from Hampden-Sydney College. After reaching the grade of captain he resigned, in 1797; was chosen delegate to Congress from the Northwestern Territory in 1799; appointed Territorial Governor of Indiana in 1801, and continued to 1813. Conducted the Indian wars of the frontier; appointed brigadier-general in 1812, and major-general in the regular army in 1813; gained the victory of Thames over the British, in October, 1813; member of Congress from Ohio, 1817–18, and elected United States Senator from that State in 1824; Minister to Columbia, South America, 1828–29; died at Washington, April 4, 1841, just one month after being inaugurated President.

It is not probable that Gen. Harrison ever aspired to the Presidency, or had prepared his mind by thought and study for its great responsibilities. He had neither opportunity, nor inducement, nor suggestion to do so, indeed; as all his predecessors had from association or from the concurrence of favorable circumstances, or as in the case of Jackson, an ardent, loud, and long continued popular attachment. It was the misfortunes, or unpopularity, or ill-luck of Van Buren and his own

negative qualities, in contrast with the positive qualities of Gen. Jackson, that made Gen. Harrison President. But the office hunters worried the mild, brave man to death in a single month.

The first regular National Convention of the Whigs was held at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, December 4, 1839, where Harrison and John Tyler were nominated. The Democratic Convention was held at Baltimore, May 24, 1840, and Van Buren and Johnson renominated. The election resulted:

Wm. H. Harrison,				234	votes.
Martin Van Buren,				60	66
John Tyler, .				234	"
R. M. Johnson,				48	66
Scattering.				Ι2	66

The vote by States was: For Harrison—Maine, 10; Vermont, 7; Massachusetts, 14; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 8; New York, 42; New Jersey, 8; Pennsylvania, 30; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 10; North Carolina, 15; Georgia, 11; Mississippi, 4; Louisiana, 5; Tennessee, 15; Kentucky, 15; Ohio, 21; Indiana, 9; Michigan, 3. For Van Buren—New Hampshire, 7; Virginia, 23; South Carolina, 11; Alabama, 7; Illinois, 5; Missouri, 4; Arkansas, 3. James G. Birney was the Free Soil candidate, but received no votes.

The Cabinet selected by President Harrison was as follows: Secretary of State—Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts.

Secretary of the Treasury—Thomas Ewing, of Ohio.

Secretary of War-John Bell, of Tennessee.

Secretary of the Navy—George E. Badger, of North Carolina.

Attorney-General—John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky. Postmaster-General—Francis Granger, of New York.







JOHN TYLER.



XV. JOHN TYLER.

1841-1845.

JOHN TYLER was born in Charles City county, Virginia, March 29, 1790; studied law, and was elected member of Congress, 1816, and served some five years; Governor of Virginia, 1825; elected U. S. Senator, 1827; re-elected 1833; was president of the Peace Convention at Washington, in February, 1861; died at Richmond, January, 17, 1862.

Upon the death of President Harrison, Mr. Tyler became his constitutional successor. Like all of his predecessors except Washington, Jackson, and Harrison, he had been reared to politics and state-craft. He had been Governor of Virginia, and a Senator from that State, and held other important public positions. He may have *dreamed* of becoming President before he was nominated for Vice-President, but it is not likely that he even did that. He served a stormy term, a faithful, honest, but much abused officer. A little too anxious perhaps for a renomination, but retiring with dignity and honor, if not without chargin at the failure of the good luck which had made him President.

He continued Harrison's Cabinet in office until September, 1841, when, in consequence of his veto of the Fiscal Corporation Bill and other Whig measures, the whole Cabinet resigned, except Daniel Webster, and it was reorganized as follows:

Secretary of State—Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts.
Secretary of the Treasury—Walter Forward, of Pennsylvania.
Secretary of War—John C. Spencer, of New York.
Secretary of the Navy—Abel P. Upshur, of Virginia.
Attorney-General—Hugh S. Legare, of South Carolina.
Postmaster-General—Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky.

During 1843 and 1844 numerous changes occurred in the Cabinet, which finally culminated in a complete reorganization. Webster resigned in May, 1843, and was succeeded by Legare, who died a month later, and was succeeded by Mr. Upshur as Secretary of State. Forward resigned, and was succeeded by Spencer. In March, 1843, J. M. Porter was nominated for Secretary of War, and in July, David Henshaw for Secretary of the Navy, but the Senate refused to confirm the nominations. William Wilkins, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was appointed to the War, and Thomas W. Gilmer, of Virginia, to the Navy Department. On the 28th of February, 1844, Secretaries Upshur and Gilmer were killed by the explosion of a gun on the war vessel Princeton. Early in 1844, the President and Cabinet disagreed on the question of the annexation of Texas, and all except Wilkins and Wickliffe resigned, and the following Cabinet was appointed:

Secretary of State—John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina.
Secretary of the Treasury—George M. Bibb, of Kentucky.
Secretary of War—William Wilkins, of Pennsylvania.
Secretary of the Navy—John Y. Mason, of Virginia.
Attorney-General—John Nelson, of Maryland.
Postmaster-General—Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky.







JAMES KNOX POLK.



XVI. JAMES K. POLK.

1845-1849.

James Knox Polk was born in Mecklinburg county, North Carolina, November 2, 1795. Graduated from the University of North Carolina about 1816, and studied law; elected to Congress 1825, and several terms subsequently; chosen Speaker of the House, 1835 and 1837; Governor of Tennessee, 1839; died at Nashville, June 15, 1849. It may be said that Mr. Polk's nomination was somewhat unexpected, perhaps to those who had no idea of voting for any candidate of his party, but he had been successful in political life, had large experience as Governor of Tennessee, and Speaker of the House. He pleased his party as candidate, and justified their fondest expectations as Chief Magistrate, surrounding himself with an able Cabinet of counsellors. The war with Mexico was successfully fought under his administration, and a rich empire added to our territorial dominions.

The Whigs held their Convention in 1844, on the 1st day of May, at Baltimore, and nominated Henry Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, born in Somerset county, New Jersey, 1787; died in 1862.

On the 27th of May, the Democratic Convention met at the same place, and nominated Polk and George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, born at Philadelphia, in July, 1792; died in

December, 1864. The election turned on the question of the annexation of Texas; the Democrats favoring and the Whigs opposing it, and resulted:

James K. Polk, .						170	votes.
Henry Clay, .		•		•		105	66
George M. Dallas, .			•		•	170	66
Theodore Frelinghuysen.						105	66

By States the vote was: For Polk—Maine, 10; New Hampshire, 6; New York, 36; Pennsylvania, 26; Virginia, 17; South Carolina, 9; Georgia, 10; Alabama, 9; Mississippi, 6; Louisiana, 6; Indiana, 12; Illinois, 9; Missouri, 7; Arkansas, 3; Michigan, 4. For Clay—Vermont, 6; Massachusetts, 12; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 6; New Jersey, 7; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 8; North Carolina, 11; Tennessee, 13; Kentucky, 12; Ohio, 23. No electoral votes were cast for Mr. Birney, who was the Free Soil candidate for the Presidency.

The following Cabinet was selected by President Polk:
Secretary of State—James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania.

Secretary of the Treasury—Robert J. Walker, of Tennessee. Secretary of War—William L. Marcy, of New York.

Secretary of the Navy—George Bancroft, of Massachusetts.

Attorney-General—John Y. Mason, of Virginia.

Postmaster-General—Cave Johnson, of Tennessee.

In 1846, Secretary Bancroft resigned, and was succeeded by John Y. Mason; and Nathan Clifford, of Maine, became Attorney-General. These were the only Cabinet changes under Polk's Administration.







ZACHARY TAYLOR.



XVII. ZACHARY TAYLOR.

1849-1850.

Zachary Taylor was born in Orange county, Virginia, November 24, 1784. He received an ordinary education in the schools of Kentucky, his father emigrating to that State in 1785; entered the army in 1808; became captain in 1812, and colonel in 1832, and commander-in-chief of the army in Florida, in 1838; commanded the army sent to Corpus Christi, in 1845; fought the battle of Palo Alto, May 8, 1846; Resaca de la Palma, May 9, was made a major-general; defeated Santa Anna at Buena Vista, February 22, 1847, and was afterwards relieved of command by General Winfield Scott; died July 9, 1850.

He owed his nomination entirely to his great military fame, and his election to the fact that the party opposed to him had two candidates in the field. He never had any desire or opportunity to become acquainted with the civil affairs of government, inasmuch as he was a soldier "in the tented field" from his youth, and nothing but a soldier by nature, education, and training. He, too, like Harrison, it is thought, was a prey to the voracious and ignoble army of office-hunters, who besieged him continually for the fifteen months that he held power. There was little to create excitement or call forth much political anxiety during his term, save the "wild hunt" for office.

His fame and reputation were therefore unaffected by his brief possessions of the Presidental office.

He was nominated by the Whig National Convention at Philadelphia, June, 1848, and Millard Fillmore was nominated for Vice-President. The Democratic National Convention at Baltimore, May, 1848, nominated Lewis Cass for President, and Gen. William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. Martin Van Buren was the Free Soil candidate for President, but received no electoral votes. The election resulted:

Zachary Taylor,			,	•	163 v	rotes.
Lewis Cass, .					127	"
Millard Fillmore,		. *			163	"
William O. Butler,					127	"

Following is the analysis of the vote by States: For Taylor—Massachusetts, 12; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 6; Vermont, 6; New York, 36; New Jersey, 7; Pennsylvania, 26; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 8; North Carolina, 11; Georgia, 10; Kentucky, 12; Tennessee, 13; Louisiana, 5; Florida, 4. For Cass—Maine, 9; New Hampshire, 6; Virginia, 17; South Carolina, 9; Ohio, 23; Mississippi, 6; Indiana, 12; Illinois, 9; Alabama, 9; Missouri, 7; Arkansas, 3; Michigan, 5; Texas, 4; Iowa, 4; Wisconsin, 4.

At the beginning of Taylor's Administration the Interior Department, first called the Home Department, was given a position in the Cabinet. President Taylor's Cabinet was as follows:

Secretary of State—John M. Clayton, of Delaware.

Secretary of the Treasury—Wm. M. Meredith, of Pennsylvania.

Secretary of War—George W. Crawford, of Georgia. Secretary of the Navy—Wm. B. Preston, of Virginia. Secretary of the Interior—Thomas Ewing, of Ohio. Attorney-General—Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland. Postmaster-General—Jacob Collamer, of Vermont.





MILLARD FILLMORE.



XVIII. MILLARD FILLMORE.

1850-1853.

MILLARD FILLMORE became the constitutional successor of President Taylor. Very exciting questions arose during his term of office, which he treated with dignity, if not with statesmanship. Mr. Fillmore, like Mr. Tyler, his forerunner in the way of becoming President, not by election, but by Constitutional prescription, had hardly expected that he would ever attain that much coveted position. But he acquitted himself well, as a conscientious, sensible man, thoroughly acquainted with legislation and general political principles, might be expected to do.

President Fillmore was born in Cayuga county, New York, January 7, 1800. He was not even liberally educated, and when young served an apprenticeship to the fuller's trade. About the year 1821 he was admitted to the bar, and removed to Erie county, New York, where he practiced law with success. He was elected to Congress in 1832, and re-elected in 1836, 1838, and 1840. In 1842 he was the Whig candidate for Governor of New York, but was not elected. In 1847 he was elected Comptroller of the State. In 1856 he was the Native American candidate for President, receiving only the electoral vote of Maryland. Died March 8, 1874.

Upon the death of President Taylor the entire Cabinet resigned, and was re-organized by Mr. Fillmore as follows:

Secretary of State—Daniel Webster, Massachusetts.
Secretary of the Treasury—Thomas Corwin, Ohio.
Secretary of War—Charles Conrad, Louisiana.
Secretary of the Navy—Wm. A. Graham, North Carolina.
Secretary of the Interior—Alex. A. H. Stuart, Virginia.
Attorney-General—John J. Crittenden, Kentucky.
Postmaster-General—Nathan K. Hall, New York.

In June, 1852, Nathan K. Hall resigned as Postmaster-General, and was succeeded by Samuel D. Hubbard, of Connecticut. At about the same period Wm. A. Graham resigned, accepting the Whig nomination for Vice-President, and was succeeded by John P. Kennedy, of Maryland, as Secretary of the Navy. On the 24th of October, Daniel Webster died, and Edward Everett became Secretary of State.







FRANKLIN PIERCE.



XIX. FRANKLIN PIERCE.

1853-1857.

Franklin Pierce was born at Hillsborough, New Hampshire, on the 23d of November, 1804. He graduated at Bowdoin College, Maine, in 1824; studied law under Levi Woodbury, and was admitted to the bar in 1827. In 1833 he was elected to Congress, and re-elected in 1835, and in 1837 was chosen United States Senator, and resigned the position in 1842 to resume the practice of the law. He served during the Mexican war with the rank of Brigadier-General of Volunteers.

The disturbing question in politics in 1852 was that of slavery, which the compromise measures of Henry Clay, in 1850, failed to dispose of. The candidates on the Democratic ticket were Franklin Pierce and Wm. R. King, born in North Carolina in 1786, and died in 1853, before assuming the duties of his office. The Whig candidates were Gen. Winfield Scott, born near Petersburg, Virginia, June 13, 1786; died at West Point, May, 1866; and Wm. A. Graham, of North Carolina, born in Lincoln county, North Carolina, September 5, 1804, and died August 11, 1875. John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, was the Liberty or Abolition candidate, but received no electoral votes. The Convention that nominated Pierce and King was held at Baltimore, June 1st, 1852, and Scott and Graham were nominated at the same place by the

Whig Convention that assembled June 15, and continued in session five days.

The vote in the Electoral Colleges was as follows:

Franklin Pierce,				254	votes.
Winfield Scott,				42	66
Wm. R. King,				254	"
Wm. A. Graham,				42	"

The vote by States was: For Pierce—Maryland, 8; Delaware, 3; Pennsylvania, 27; New York, 35; Maine, 8; New Hampshire, 5; Ohio, 23; Virginia, 15; Michigan, 6; South Carolina, 8; Connecticut, 6; Rhode Island, 4; New Jersey, 7; Missouri, 9; Indiana, 13; Illinois, 11; Alabama, 9; Mississippi, 7; North Carolina, 10; Louisiana, 6; Arkansas, 4; Texas, 4; Wisconsin, 5; Iowa, 4; Florida, 3; Georgia, 10; California, 4. For Scott—Massachusetts, 13; Vermont, 5; Kentucky, 12; Tennessee, 12.

President Pierce selected for his constitutional advisers the following Cabinet:

Secretary of State-Wm. L. Marcy, New York.

Secretary of the Treasury—James Guthrie, Kentucky.

Secretary of War-Jefferson Davis, Mississippi.

Secretary of the Navy-James C. Dobbin, North Carolina.

Secretary of the Interior—Robert McClelland, Michigan.

Attorney-General—Caleb Cushing, Massachusetts.

Postmaster-General—James Campbell, Pennsylvania.







JAMES BUCHANAN.



XX. JAMES BUCHANAN.

1857-1861.

James Buchanan was born in Franklin county, Pennsylvania, April 13, 1791, and died at Wheatland, June 1, 1868. He graduated at Dickinson College in 1809, and was admitted to the bar in 1812. He was elected to Congress in 1820, as a Federalist. In 1828 he supported Jackson for the Presidency, and was re-elected to Congress as a Democrat. He was sent as Ambassador to St. Petersburg in 1831, and was elected United States Senator from Pennsylvania in 1833. He continued in the Senate until 1845, when he was made Secretary of State in President Polk's Cabinet. He was minister to England from 1853 to 1856, and earned the sobriquet of "Public Functionary," from the fact that he held some important and responsible office continuously from 1820 to 1861, with the exception of four years, from 1849 to 1853.

The leading question in the campaign of 1856 was again that of slavery, which each year was becoming more trouble-some and threatening, and upon which the Democratic party was becoming divided in sentiment. President Buchanan was nominated by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, June 2, 1856; and John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. John C. Fremont, born at Savannah, Georgia, January 21, 1813, and Mr. L. Dayton, born in New Jersey,

1807, died in Paris, December, 1864, were nominated at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856, as the Republican candidates for President and Vice-President. Millard Fillmore was the American candidate for President, and Andrew J. Donaldson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President. The result of the election was as follows:

James Buchanan,	•		•	174 1	otes.
John C. Fremont, .				114	66
Millard Fillmore,			•	5	66
John C. Breckinridge,				174	"
Wm. L. Dayton,				114	66
A. J. Donaldson, .				5	"

The vote by States was as follows: For Buchanan—Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 4; California, 4; Delaware, 3; Florida, 3; Georgia, 10; Illinois, 11; Indiana, 13; Kentucky, 12; Louisiana, 6; Mississippi, 7; Missouri, 9; New Jersey, 7; North Carolina, 10; Pennsylvania, 27; Tennessee, 12; South Carolina, 8; Texas, 4; Virginia, 15. For Fremont—Connecticut, 6; Iowa, 4; Maine, 8; Massachusetts, 13; Michigan, 6; New Hampshire, 5; New York, 35; Ohio, 23; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 5; Wisconsin, 5. For Fillmore—Maryland, 8.

The following Cabinet was selected by Mr. Buchanan:

Secretary of State—Lewis Cass, Michigan.

Secretary of the Treasury—Howell Cobb, Georgia.

Secretary of War-John B. Floyd, Virginia.

Secretary of the Navy-Isaac Toucey, Connecticut.

Secretary of the Interior—Jacob Thompson, North Carolina.

Attorney-General—Jeremiah S. Black, Pennsylvania. Postmaster-General—A. V. Brown, Tennessee.

There was nothing out of the usual routine in Mr. Buchanan's Administration, until near its close, when the various questions of policy arising out of the secession of the Southern States, resulted in the disruption of the Cabinet during the months of December, 1860, and January, 1861; the members either resigning, or being transferred from one department

to another. Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, was first to resign, December 12, 1860, and was succeeded by Attorney-General Black. On the same day Mr. Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury. resigned, and was replaced by Philip F. Thomas, of Maryland, who in turn resigned on the 11th of January, 1861, and was succeeded by John A. Dix, of New York. On the 25th of December, Secretary Floyd resigned, and Joseph Holt was transferred from the Postmaster-Generalship to the War portfolio. First Assistant Postmaster-General, Horatio King, became Acting Postmaster-General, and was appointed to the position February 1, 1861. On the 9th of January, 1861, Secretary Thompson resigned, and no immediate successor was appointed, the bureau remaining in charge of the Secretary's first subordinate. In the general upheaval the members of the Cabinet resigned for the most opposite reasons, and generally for the most contradictory ones.

The Cabinet, pending these changes, could not be regarded as anything like permanent, until the 11th of January, 1861, when it was finally reconstructed as follows:

Secretary of State—Jeremiah S. Black, Pennsylvania.
Secretary of the Treasury—John A. Dix, New York.
Secretary of War—Joseph Holt, Kentucky.
Secretary of the Navy—Isaac Toucey, Connecticut.
Secretary of the Interior—Vacant.
Attorney-General—Edwin M. Stanton, Pennsylvania.
Postmaster-General—Horatio King (acting), New York.





XXI. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

1861-1865.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was born in Hardin county, Kentucky (in a part now included in Larue county), on the 12th of February, 1809, and died at the hands of an assassin on the 15th of April, 1865. His parents, when he was eight years old, removed to Spencer county, Indiana, and afterward to Illinois. His education was such as he was able to pick up at the neighboring frontier schools, but he practically applied everything he learned, and raised himself from obscurity to a prominent place in his adopted State. He was a successful, though not a trained lawyer. He was elected to the Illinois Legislature in 1834, and again in 1836. In 1846 he was elected to Congress, the only Whig out of the seven members from that State. In 1868 he was a candidate for United States Senator, against Stephen A. Douglas, who was elected, and who was one of his competitors for the Presidency in 1860.

Like the nominations of Polk, Pierce, and Taylor, the nomination of Abraham Lincoln was unexpected; the result, perhaps, of *envy*, which, even more than *ingratitude*, is the ruling vice in Republics. Accident favored him as much in his election as it did in his nomination. The dissensions of the opposing party made him President, although in a minority



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.



of a million on the popular vote. And in regard to his Administration, like that of Mr. Buchanan's, the minds of men are not likely soon to be harmonized.

Mr. Lincoln was nominated by the Republican Convention at Chicago, May 17, 1860, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for Vice-President. The Democratic Convention met at Charleston, South Carolina, April 23, 1860, and after more than fifty ballots, and a nine days' session, without a nomination, adjourned to meet at Baltimore, June 18. Here a portion of the delegates seceded from the regular Convention, and nominated John C. Breckinridge for President, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for Vice-President. The regular Convention then nominated Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, born in Rutland county, Vermont, April 23, 1813, died at Chicago, June 3, 1861, for President, and Herschel V. Johnson, born in Georgia, Sept. 18, 1812, for Vice-President. John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett were nominated by the "Constitutional Union" party.

The slavery question was now the all-absorbing issue that swallowed up all others. The result of this quadrangular contest was as follows:

Abraham Lincoln,				180	votes.
John C. Breckinridge,				72	66
John Bell, .				39	66
Stephen A. Douglas,				12	66
Hannibal Hamlin,	•		•	180	66
Joseph Lane, .				72	66
Edward Everett, .				39	66
Herschel V. Johnson,				12	66

Following is the analysis of the vote by States: Lincoln—California, 4; Connecticut, 6; Illinois, 11; Indiana, 13; Iowa, 4; Maine, 8; Massachusetts, 13; Michigan, 6; Minnesota, 4; New Hampshire, 5; New Jersey, 4; New York, 35; Ohio, 23; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 27; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 5; Wisconsin, 5. Breckinridge—Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 4; Delaware, 3; Florida, 3; Georgia, 10; Louisi-

ana, 6; Maryland, 8; Mississippi, 7; North Carolina, 10; South Carolina, 8; Texas, 4. Bell—Kentucky, 12; Tennessee, 12; Virginia, 15. Douglas—New Jersey, 3; Missouri, 9.

President Lincoln appointed the following Cabinet: Secretary of State—Wm. H. Seward, New York. Secretary of the Treasury—Salmon P. Chase, Ohio. Secretary of War—Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania. Secretary of the Navy—Gideon Welles, Connecticut. Secretary of the Interior—Caleb B. Smith, Indiana. Attorney-General—Edward Bates, Missouri. Postmaster-General—Montgomery Blair, Maryland.

In January, 1862, Mr. Cameron resigned the War office, and went as Minister to Russia, and was succeeded by Edwin M. Stanton. Secretary Smith resigned in December, 1862, and was succeeded by John P. Usher. On the 30th of June, 1864, Secretary Chase resigned, and was succeeded by Wm. Pitt Fessenden, of Maine, who in 1865, was succeeded by Hugh McCulloch, of Indiana. Near the close of the year 1864, President Lincoln removed Postmaster-General Blair, and appointed Wm. Dennison, of Ohio. In September, 1864, Attorney-General Bates resigned, and was succeeded by James Speed, of Kentucky.

XXII. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

ı,865.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN was renominated by the Republican Convention, at Baltimore, June 8, 1864, and Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President. The Democratic Convention, at Chicago, August 30, nominated Gen. George B. McClellan, of New Jersey, born at Philadelphia, December 3,

1826, for President, and George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, born at Cincinnati, July, 25, 1825, for Vice-President. The result of the election was as follows, the principal question being as to the mode of conducting the civil war then pending:

Abraham Lincoln,				213	votes.
George B. McClellan,				2 I	66
Andrew Johnson,				213	66
George H. Pendleton,				2 I	66

The analysis of the vote by States is as follows: For Lincoln—California, 5; Connecticut, 6; Illinois, 16; Indiana, 13; Iowa, 8; Kansas, 3; Maine, 7; Maryland, 7; Massachusetts, 12; Michigan, 8; Minnesota, 4; Missouri, 11; New Hampshire, 5; New York, 33; Ohio, 21; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 26; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 5; West Virginia, 5; Wisconsin, 8; Nevada, 3. McClellan—Kentucky, 11; New Jersey, 7; Delaware, 3. The electoral vote was not counted in the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

President Lincoln unhappily did not live to serve his second term, having been assassinated by a fanatical villain, on the night of the 14th of April, 1865, at Ford's Theatre, the President dying at an early hour the next morning.





XXIII. ANDREW JOHNSON.

1865-1869.

Andrew Johnson was born near Raleigh, North Carolina, December 29, 1808. In the midst of poverty he grew up to manhood unlettered, serving an apprenticeship to a tailor. After his marriage, and after having changed his residence to Greenville, Tennessee, his wife, a woman of considerable culture, helped him to a practical education. Abandoning the trade he had learned, he began the practice of the law. He began his official career as an Alderman, and was afterward elected Mayor of Greenville in 1830. He served a number of terms in the Legislature, and in 1843 was elected to Congress, where he continued for ten years. In 1853 he was elected Governor of Tennessee, and re-elected in 1855. In 1857 he was elected United States Senator, and was appointed Military Governor of Tennessee in 1862 by President Lincoln. In 1864 he was elected Vice-President.

The cold-blooded and cruel assassination of President Lincoln made Andrew Johnson the constitutional President. It is not probable that he would ever have been taken up for President by either party, although he had acted with both. The signal failure of his attempt to build up a following for himself that would re-elect him proves this. His practical knowledge of political affairs would have enabled him to do



ANDREW JOHNSON.



much good in the settlement of the absorbing questions that followed the war, if, instead of striking out for the gratification of his selfish personal ambition, he had devoted himself to "Reconstruction" questions alone. Besides this, he was very unjustly treated by the majority in Congress.

For the removal of Secretary Stanton, he was impeached by his political opponents in the House and tried by the Senate. The trial began on the 13th of March, 1868, and ended on the 26th of May in his acquittal, thirty-five Senators voting for and nineteen against conviction. As it required a two-thirds vote of the Senators to convict, the impeachment was a failure. Seven Republican Senators voted for his acquittal.

Upon President Johnson's accession to the Presidency, no material change was made in Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, his constitutional advisers being as follows, although several changes occurred subsequently:

Secretary of State-Wm. H. Seward, New York.

Secretary of the Treasury—Hugh McCulloch, Indiana.

Secretary of War-E. M. Stanton, Pennsylvania.

Secretary of the Navy-Gideon Wells, Connecticut.

Secretary of the Interior—James Harlan, Iowa.

Attorney-General—James Speed, Kentucky.

Postmaster-General—Wm. Dennison, Ohio.

In 1866, Secretary Harlan and Postmaster-General Dennison resigned, and were succeeded, July 24, and September 1, by O. H. Browning, of Illinois, and A. W. Randall, of Wisconsin, respectively. At the same time Henry Stanberry, of Ohio, succeeded James Speed as Attorney-General, who was in turn succeeded by Wm. M. Evarts, of New York, in 1868.

Owing to disagreements between President Johnson and Secretary Stanton, the latter was requested to resign the War Office on the 5th of August, 1867, but refused to comply. Previous to this, Congress had passed the Tenure-of-Office Act to prevent him from removing his Cabinet officers. On the 12th of August, the President suspended Stanton under this act, and appointed General Ulysses S. Grant Secretary of War

ad interim. On the 13th of January, 1868, the Senate re-instated Mr. Stanton, and the President formally removed him and appointed Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, Secretary ad interim, but failed to get possession of the War office. Stanton continued on, and Johnson was impeached, tried, and acquitted, when, on the 26th of May, 1868, Secretary Stanton resigned, and was succeeded by Gen. John M. Schofield.







ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT.



XXIV. ULYSSES S. GRANT.

1869-1873.

ULYSSES S. GRANT was born at Point Pleasant, Clermont county, Ohio, April 27, 1822. He entered the Military Academy at West Point in 1839, and graduated in 1843. He was brevet second lieutenant in the Fourth Infantry, and served in the Mexican War. In 1847, he was made first lieutenant, captain in 1853, and in 1854 resigned his commission, and entered the leather and saddlery business at Galena, Illinois, in 1859. At the breaking out of the war in 1861, he raised a company, and went to Springfield. He was made colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois Volunteers, and later in the same year a brigadier-general. In February, 1862, he was made a major-general, and commanded the armies of the Southwest. On the 12th of March, 1864, he was made lieutenant-general, and put in command of all the armies, and took personal direction of the military operations in Virginia, and on the 9th of April, 1865, General Lee surrendered the armies of the Confederacy to him, at Appomattox Court House, and hostilities were ended.

In July, 1866, Congress conferred upon him the grade of General. On the 21st of May, 1868, the Republican Convention, at Chicago, nominated him for President, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, born in New York city, March 23, 1823,

for Vice-President. The Democratic Convention that met at New York, July 4, 1868, nominated Horatio Seymour, of New York, born in Onandaga county, New York, in 1811, for President, and Francis P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, born at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1821, and died May 17, 1875, for Vice-President. The main issue of the campaign was as to the mode of reconstructing the Southern States.

Some epigrammatic writer observes that "no prominent man in a civil war ever gains so much fame or fortune as he that ends it." To President Grant was accorded, with singular unanimity, the credit of triumphantly concluding our late civil war. To him Gen. Lee surrendered the sword of the Confederacy, and other fortuitous events conspired to make him successful in a canvass for the Presidency. The war lasted four years, and Johnson's term lasted four years longer. During most of that time Grant never remotely imagined that he would become President.

The result of the Presidential campaign was:

U. S. Grant,	•		214	votes.
Horatio Seymour,	•		80	"
Schuyler Colfax,			214	"
F. P. Blair,			80	66

Following is the vote of the electoral colleges by States: For Grant—Alabama, 8; Arkansas, 5; California, 5; Connecticut, 6; Florida, 3; Illinois, 16; Indiana, 13; Iowa, 8; Kansas, 3; Maine, 7; Massachusetts, 12; Michigan, 8; Minnesota, 4; Missouri, 11; Nebraska, 3; Nevada, 3; New Hampshire, 5; North Carolina, 9; Ohio, 21; Pennsylvania, 26; Rhode Island, 4; South Carolina, 6; Tennessee, 10; Vermont, 5; West Virginia, 5; Wisconsin, 8. For Seymour—Delaware, 8; Georgia, 9; Kentucky, 11; Louisiana, 7; New Jersey, 7; New York, 33; Oregon, 3; Maryland, 7.

In the selection of his Cabinet President Grant first named Elihu B. Washburne for Secretary of State, and Alexander T. Stewart for Secretary of the Treasury. It was found that Stewart was ineligible by law, in consequence of being an im-

porter of merchandise, and Congress refused to remove the disability. Mr. Washburne also declined the position tendered him, and on the 11th day of March, 1869, the Cabinet was announced as follows:

Secretary of State—Hamilton Fish, New York.

Secretary of the Treasury—George S. Boutwell, Massachusetts.

Secretary of War-John A. Rawlins, Illinois.

Secretary of the Navy-Adolph E. Borie, Pennsylvania.

Secretary of the Interior—Jacob D. Cox, Ohio.

Attorney-General—E. Rockwell Hoar, Massachusetts.

Postmaster-General—John A. J. Cresswell, Maryland.

Secretary Rawlins died on the 7th of September, 1869, and was succeeded by W. W. Belknap, of Iowa, on the 3d of October. Prior to this, on the 25th of June, Secretary Borie resigned, and was succeeded by George M. Robeson, of New Jersey. Also during the year, Attorney-General Hoar resigned, and was succeeded by Amos T. Akerman, of Georgia, who was succeeded in 1870 by Geo. H. Williams, of Oregon. Secretary of the Interior, Jacob D. Cox, also resigned in 1870, and was succeeded by Columbus Delano, of Ohio.

XXV. ULYSSES S. GRANT.

1873-1876.

THE Republican Convention, which assembled at Philadelphia on the 5th of June, 1872, re-nominated President Grant, and named Henry Wilson, born in New Hampshire, February 16, 1812, and who died at Washington, November 22, 1875, for Vice-President.

On the 1st of May, 1872, the Liberal Republicans met at

Cincinnati, and nominated Horace Greeley, of New York, for President, and Benjamin Gratz Brown, of Missouri, for Vice-President. On the 9th of July, the Democratic Convention met at Baltimore, and ratified the Cincinnati nomination. Mr. Greeley was born at Amherst, New Hampshire, February 3, 1811, and in early life learned the printing trade. After several newspaper ventures in New York, he founded the New York Tribune in 1841, and was acknowledged to be at the head of the journalistic profession in America in his time. He died on the 29th of November, 1872, and in consequence of his death, the electoral vote that would have been cast for him was divided among other gentlemen who were not candidates. Charles O'Conor, of New York, straight-out Democrat, and James Black, of Pennsylvania, Temperance, were also supported for the Presidency, but received no electoral votes. The issue of the campaign was that of universal amnesty to the people lately in rebellion—the Democrats and Liberals favoring it, and the Republicans favoring restricted amnesty. The following was the result of the election:

Ulysses S. Grant,	٠		292	votes.
Thomas A. Hendricks (Indiana),			42	66
B. Gratz Brown (for President),			18	66
Horace Greeley,			3	66
Charles J. Jenkins, .	•		2	66
David Davis,			I	66
Henry Wilson,			292	66
B. Gratz Brown (for Vice-Presiden	nt),		55	66
Scattering,			19	"

The following is the analysis of the vote by States: For Grant—Alabama, 10; Arkansas, 6; California, 6; Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Florida, 4; Illinois, 21; Indiana, 15; Iowa, 11; Kansas, 5; Maine, 7; Massachusetts, 13; Michigan, 11; Minnesota, 5; Mississippi, 8; Nebraska, 3; Nevada, 3; New Hampshire, 5; New Jersey, 9; New York, 35; North Carolina, 10; Ohio, 22; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 29; Rhode Island, 4; South Carolina, 7; Vermont, 5; Virginia, 11;

West Virginia, 5; Wisconsin, 10. For Hendricks—Kentucky, 8; Maryland, 8; Missouri, 6; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 8. For Brown—Georgia, 6; Kentucky, 4; Missouri, 8. For Greeley—Georgia, 3. For Jenkins—Georgia, 2. For Davis—Missouri, 1. There was a contest as to the 8 electoral votes of Louisiana, the electors recognized as chosen by the United States District Judge casting 8 votes for Grant, and the Democratic electors claiming to be elected casting 8 blank votes.

President Grant's Cabinet at the beginning of his second term was:

Secretary of State—Hamilton Fish, New York.

Secretary of the Treasury—George S. Boutwell, Massachusetts.

Secretary of War-W. W. Belknap, Iowa.

Secretary of the Navy-George M. Robeson, New Jersey.

Secretary of the Interior—Columbus Delano, Ohio.

Attorney-General—George H. Williams, Oregon.

Postmaster-General-John A. J. Creswell, Maryland.

On the 17th of March, 1873, Secretary Boutwell resigned, and was succeeded by Wm. A. Richardson, who resigned on the 1st of June, 1874, and was succeeded by Benjamin H. Bristow, of Kentucky.

Postmaster-General Cresswell resigned on the 24th of June, 1874, and was succeeded by Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut. Attorney-General Williams resigned on the 22d of April, 1875, and was succeeded by Edwards Pierrepont, of New York. Secretary of the Interior, Columbus Delano, resigned September 26, 1875, and was succeeded by Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan.

On the 1st of March, 1876, a Committee of the House of Representatives came into the possession of evidence implicating W. W. Belknap, Secretary of War, as guilty of gross malfeasance in office, in the sale of the right to sell goods at posts on the Western frontier, and other criminal acts, to which he confessed before the Committee. On the 2d of the same month, Belknap tendered his resignation, which was promptly

accepted by the President. On the same day the House Committee appeared before the Senate, and notified that body that the House would present articles of impeachment against Gen. Belknap. Secretary Belknap was the first of the long line of distinguished Cabinet Ministers to be driven out of his high office for detected corruption. On the 7th of March, the President appointed Alphonso Taft, of Ohio, as Gen. Belknap's successor.*

* The date of appointment and term of service of the ad interim Cabinet Ministers, not particularly specified in the foregoing, are specifically set forth in Section VI., following, which embraces a complete list of all persons holding Cabinet positions for any period whatever.





II.

In considering how our eighteen Presidents were elected, it may be said that Washington, Adams, and Jefferson were chosen candidates, the first by unanimous popular indication and consent, and the second and third as the acknowledged leaders of the parties that put them forward.

There is no reason why either of these might not have looked forward to the acquisition of the Presidential office. But it is not charged that either of the three intrigued for the position, or practiced the arts of flattery or demagogism to obtain it. The nominations of Madison and Monroe were made by the administrations in power, and by their supporters in Congress, which last arranged many things, as was alleged, by a secret party combination called "King Caucus" by those of the opposing party, and even by those of its own party who did not find favor in the eyes of that same "King."

It seemed to be the idea of these caucus managers, that men who were near the Executive, generally the Secretary of State, we believe, would make safe Presidents, and they alleged that in maintaining that sort of succession they were keeping in the "line of safe precedents;" but in 1824, the outsiders grew impatient, when William H. Crawford, President Monroe's Secretary of State, was put forth as had been customary by the mysterious "Caucus." Then other candidates stepped boldly forth, or were brought forward with whatever force or unction their friends could give them.

Among those were Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, and John Ouincy Adams. No election was had by the electors chosen, and the choice was to be made by the Lower House of Congress, from the three highest on the list presented by the Electoral Colleges. The result of the action of the House was, to say the least of it, amazing and unexpected—and resulted in the election of Adams, the second on the list. It was accomplished by the union of the friends of Mr. Clay with those of Mr. Adams, and Mr. Clay took office under Mr. Adams as Secretary of State. The wonder excited by this result was produced by the fact that for ten years previous to the election, Clay and Adams had been personal enemies, having differed about certain provisions in the Treaty of Ghent, in the formation of which both took part. And although the vote of Mr. Clay's State, Kentucky, was cast for Mr. Adams, not one solitary man voted for him at the polls.

The election of Gen. Jackson, in 1828, who was the highest of the three voted for by the House in 1824, was no doubt secured in a large measure by the unlooked-for coalition of the friends of Adams and Clay. Adams was his opponent in the natural course of events, perhaps endorsed by a kind of caucus nomination. But we hear no more of Presidential or other nominations by *caucus*. In 1832 President Jackson was renominated by a body of delegates, which was the first of the National Conventions by which Presidential nominations have since been made very generally by all parties.

It may be said that after the nomination of Mr. Van Buren, in 1836, the selections made by all parties in their Conventions for President and Vice-President were very largely controlled by accident or expediency. It was tacitly, if not openly, conceded that Van Buren would be Jackson's successor, and the strange bitterness with which this expected result was denounced by his enemies long before the time of the latter's retirement from office, had something to do with securing the succession to Mr. Van Buren. The nomination of Gen. Harrison, in 1840, for President, and John Tyler for Vice-President, was

one of the first instances where party necessity dictated the exclusion of the men best fitted and most thought of for those high places. Clay, Webster, and others of the leaders of the Whig party, who had borne the heat and burden of battle, were put aside for Harrison, so that success might be better assured.

And again, in 1848, these great men were ignored, because Gen. Taylor, with his freshly gathered Mexican laurels, it was supposed, and correctly, too, would be the man most likely to succeed. So also in 1852, Gen. Scott was preferred to the accepted and competent political leaders of the Whig party, and was another expediency candidate. So, too, in the Democratic party, Silas Wright and Gen. Cass, who had undergone all the toil and reaped all the censure that the highest party leadership is sure to encounter, were put aside in 1844 for Polk, and in 1852 for Pierce. In all these unexpected nominations by both of the leading parties, expediency was regularly alleged as the motive for making them, but it is very likely that envy and jealousy, which as before hinted, are perhaps more the especial vices of Republics than even ingratitude itself, which, since the Grecian States were in the habit of ostracising their greatest and best public servants, has been proverbially the vice of Republics.

The decease of Harrison after one month's service, made John Tyler President. He was made most keenly to feel that he owed his elevation to a sad dispensation of Providence, and continual contention with his old party associates rendered his term a very uncomfortable one; besides he had set his heart on being elected to a second term, and in laboring to that end perhaps did not accomplish what he might have done otherwise.

It really seemed that both he and Andrew Johnson, who succeeded to the Presidency after the foul murder of Mr. Lincoln, and who, like Tyler, labored unceasingly to build up a party that would re-elect him—it seemed, we say, as if they both wondered why they were not nominated for the chief

office in the first place, and were anxious to see the original mistake corrected by a direct election.

Mr. Fillmore, who was another of the Presidents who obtained his honors by constitutional sanction, or accident, as the captious and censorious will insist, it is not ungenerous to say, was very much more fit to be President than was Gen. Taylor, whom he succeeded. It has never been charged, we believe, that he improperly used his official station to secure his re-election.





III.

WE have thus briefly epitomized the Presidents from the adoption of the Constitution in 1788. President Grant, whose term expires in March, 1877, will, it is probable, remain in office until the close of the Centennial year. Have the monarchical rulers of Europe for the past century been personally as well qualified for their great offices? Have they been equal in talents and morals to our Chief Magistrates? The answer must be substantially in the negative. With the exception of two or three, our Presidents have been men of unquestioned talents, and all of them of unimpeachable personal character and private behavior. Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson, would have ranked as eminent men in any age or in any country. The rest, or nearly all of them, were above the average, although it may be truly said that the nomination and election of more than half of them was accomplished more nearly as you draw numbers in a lottery, than as induced by clear indications of fitness, or of a popular sense of their high deserts.

It now becomes necessary for the purpose in view to resort to the catalogue of sovereigns in Europe about the period of 1790, as quoted in the beginning of this paper, and extend the list down to the present time, in order to learn who were the contemporary rulers with our eighteen Presidents.

The sovereigns of England for the century, beginning in 1776, have been four: George III. (1760–1820); George IV.

(1820–1830); William IV. (1830–1837); Victoria (1837 until the present time). George III., who commenced his reign in 1760, was said to have been a young prince of unspotted reputation, who Byron said possessed

"That household virtue most uncommon,"

of constancy to a bad, ugly woman. He was religious, moral, and in the highest degree temperate, and was actually, without regard to Byron's sneer, a model of domestic virtue; but his intellect, never vigorous, gave way in 1764. He had various returns of insanity until 1810, when he finally retired from all participation in the affairs of government, and George IV. was made Regent.

In 1820 George IV. ascended the throne of England, and was, perhaps, the worst man that has ruled any Christian country during the century, and although it is said he egotistically styled himself "the first gentleman of England," and although when young was handsome and affable, he was utterly and in every way unprincipled, and a shameless debauchee.

William IV. was a frank, harmless sort of a man, with tolerable morals for a king, and with no ability to speak of. He was succeeded by Victoria, who still reigns, and whose example as a sovereign, and whose domestic virtues, entitle her to universal respect.

In France, Louis XVI. (1774–1793), ascended the throne in 1774. He was a harmless man, and his fate was personally hard—but if the sins of his progenitors could have been fairly visited upon him, there were enough of them to make him liable for the terrible restitutions he had to make. Then followed Napoleon and his fellow Consuls, and Napoleon as Emperor (1793–1814). It is fair to presume that every one has his opinions about a character so prominent, and can compare him, for himself, with our Chief Magistrates.

Napoleon I. was succeeded by Louis XVIII. (1814–1824), who was a man of fair abilities and considerable learning. Charles X. (1824–1830), succeeded his brother Louis XVIII.

He was remarkable for nothing but his unbending devotion to the prerogatives of royalty, and to his proud and ancient family adherents who advised him so fatally. He was ousted by Louis Phillippe (1830-1848), who had been severely trained in trying vicissitudes, and who was certainly a respectable sovereign and a man of exemplary private deportment. To him succeeded Napoleon III. (1848-1870), who was a man of decided talents, who had been educated by others, and who had educated himself for a sovereign ruler. His ambition betrayed him into crimes and excesses which were perpetrated against his political competitors; but the masses of his countrymen had reason to be satisfied with his administration of affairs. Thiers and MacMahon can only be regarded as Provincial Governors, whose terms were never expected to continue long, and neither of whom can as yet be regarded as having a fixed status as rulers. The first is undoubtedly a statesman of many accomplishments; the last an equally accomplished soldier, who owes his elevation to that circumstance alone. Leaving out the Directory and the Consuls, and including Thiers and MacMahon, France has had eight supreme rulers within the century, all of whom, excepting the three Bourbons, were remarkable men.

Spain has been governed during the century by Charles IV. (1788_1808), Joseph Bonaparte (1808_1813), Ferdinand VII. (1813_1833), and Isabella II. (1833_1868). Since the constrained abdication of Isabella II., in 1868, Spain has had no really fixed government, but continually changing from under provisional governments, mock-monarchies, and mock-republics, in which Prim, Victor Amadeus, or more properly the Duke of Aosta, Castellar, Serranno, and others appear and disappear respectively, until now we have Alfonso XII., son of Isabella, on the throne, having driven Don Carlos out of the country, but himself liable to be overthrown by some sudden revolution for which Spain has latterly become proverbial. Spain, if we except Alfonso, may be said to have had but four rulers during the century.

Charles and Ferdinand were remarkable only for their imbecility and their vices, and deserve no further comment. Joseph Bonaparte might have done very well if it had suited the English to let him alone. Isabella II. was compelled to abdicate on account of her shocking vices, and now lives in France. The mock-King Amadeus also retired in disgust after a short experience, and permitted the country to try conclusions between ultra-Republicanism and ultra-Legitimacy.

Russia has had five sovereigns within the century. "Old Catharine," as Mr. Jefferson calls her, was the first (1762–1796). She was followed by Paul I. (1796–1801), who was murdered. He was succeeded by Alexander I. (1801–1825); he by Nicholas (1825–1855); and Nicholas by Alexander II. (1855—still reigning). There seems to have been a vast improvement in the character of the Russian autocrats since Catharine and Paul. Their successors have been men of decent lives and respectable personal behavior—much better than the average of absolute monarchs.

In Prussia (Germany), the greatest of the Fredericks, Frederick II. (1740–1786), reigned in 1776. His successors have been: Frederick William II. (1786–1797); Frederick William III. (1797–1840); Frederick William IV. (1840–1861); and Wilhelm I. (1861—still reigning). All of these have been distinguished by somewhat similar qualities—all being warlike, economical, and ruling with absolute military sway. The present Emperor is one of the same sort as his predecessors, but really only serves the purpose of a lay figure in Bismarck's play of absolutism. There has been no really brilliant man among them since Frederick the Great.





IV.

It may seem almost impossible to draw any parallel between the sovereigns here sketched and any of our Presidents—so different is the mode of rearing and educating hereditary rulers, and the different kind of education and experience on which our elective system compels us to depend. One thing, however, is certain, the personal habits and characters of our Presidents contrast very favorably with those of their royal contemporaries. It would seem that continence was a virtue hardly expected among kings and emperors, and was not absolutely required of *all* the queens and empresses.

Drunkenness and gluttony among male rulers was not rare, and "Old Catharine" was celebrated for all kind of debaucheries. It is manifest, however, that from some cause, perhaps the more precarious tenure of their power, they behave much better personally than they formerly did—their morals are evidently improving—and it may be hoped that those who are born to thrones may come to believe that they have a large responsibility, and that they must not deliver themselves over solely to physical indulgence, as was the fashion a hundred years ago.

In reviewing the list of our Presidents, the first five: Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, were chosen almost as a matter of course, and it is not likely that better selections could be made under any circumstances.

Jackson and Harrison owed their elevation partly to their

military titles and achievements; Taylor and Grant owed theirs entirely to their military reputations. The election of John Quincy Adams was brought about by a most unexpected coalition. Tyler and Fillmore came into power through the acts of Providence. Both of these were competent to fulfill the duties of their office. Johnson, too, reached the Presidency through the shocking crime of an assassin. He was not wholly the man for the crisis, although he might have done worse, as he certainly might have done better.

The accidents attending nominating conventions conferred power upon Polk, Pierce, and Lincoln, to the exclusion of more eminent men, who seemed to be desired by the masses of the people, and designed as the best men for the office, and this is likely always to be the case as long as Conventions make nominations—for as already remarked, envy, jealousy, and expediency will almost always effect the defeat of the best and most eminent candidates.

Van Buren and Buchanan had fair claims to their respective nominations and elections. They were competent, and each had supporters all over the Union. In selecting them no one was startled or mortified, as in the cases mentioned.

And on the whole we are bound to conclude that if we do not fare any worse in the selection of our Presidents for the next hundred years than we have for the past century of our existence, we shall have reason to be thankful, and continue a patriotic preference for our own before any other existing form of government.

The line of Presidential and Vice-Presidential succession, with the cardinal historical points of the incumbents of the office, may be epitomized. By the subjoined it will be seen that Virginia has furnished precisely one-third of our Presidents, and that all but two, Lincoln and Grant, were born within the limits of one of the Original Thirteen Colonies:—

PRESIDENTS.

	BORN.		DIED.			Elect- ed.	SERVED.	Native of.	Resid'd
Washington, IA Adams	Oct. A pril M'ch A pril July M'ch Dec. Feb. Mar. Nov. Ian. Nov. A pril Feb. Oec.	22, 1732 19, 1735 2, 1743 16, 1751 28, 1758 111, 1767 5, 1767 5, 1782 9, 1773 229, 1790 24, 1784 7, 1800 23, 1804 13, 1791 12, 1809 29, 1808 27, 1822	July July June July Feb. June July April Jan. June July March Oct. June April July	4, 4, 28, 4, 23, 8, 24, 4, 17, 15, 9, 18, 1, 15, 31,	1826 1836 1831 1848 1845 1862 1841 1862 1849 1850 1874 1869 1868 1865	1840 1844 1848 1848 1852 1856 1860	4 yrs. 8 yrs. 8 yrs. 8 yrs. 4 yrs. 1 yrs. 1 month. 3 y. 11 mo 4 yrs. 1 y. 4 mo. 2 y. 8 mo. 4 yrs. 4 yrs. 4 yrs. 4 yrs.	Mass Va. Va Mass S. C. N.Y. Va. Va. N.C. Va. N.Y. N.H. Pa. Ky.	Va. Va. Va. Mass Ten. N.Y. Ohio Va. Ten. La. N.Y. N.H. Pa. Ill. Ten.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1.00	BORN.		DIED.			Elected. SERVED.		Native of	Resid'd in.
Adams. Jefferson Burr Clinton. Gerry. Tompkins Calhoun. Van Buren Johnson Tyler Dallas Fillmore. King. Breekinridge Hamlin Johnson Colfax Wilson	April Feb. July July June M'ch Dec. Oct. M'ch July Jan. April Jan. April Jan. Dec. M'ch	19, 1735 2, 1743 6, 1756 26, 1739 17, 1744 21, 1774 18, 1782 5, 1782 17, 1780 29, 1790 10, 1792 7, 1800 7, 1786 21, 1821 27, 1809 29, 1808 29, 1868 23, 1823	July Sept. April Nov. June M'ch July Nov. Jan. Dec. M'ch April May Living July Living	4, 14, 20, 23, 11, 12, 24, 19, 17, 31, 8, 4, 17, g,	1826 1836 1812 1814 1825 1850 1862 1864 1874 1853 1875 1876 1875	1812 1816 1824 1832 1836 1840 1844 1848 1852 1856 1860 1864 1868	4 yrs, 4 yrs, 7 yrs, 1 yr, 8 yrs, 7 yrs, 4 yrs, 1 mo, 4 yrs, 1 y, 4 mo, 4 yrs, 1½ mos, 4 yrs, 4 yrs,	Va. N.Y. N.Y. Mass N.Y. S. C. N.Y. Ky. Va. Pa.	Pa. N.Y. Ten Ky. Me. Ten. Ind.

Unlike the Presidents, but few of the Vice-Presidents came from Virginia—only two of the eighteen. Three—John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Martin Van Buren, rose from the Vice-Presidency to the Presidency by election; and three—John Tyler, Millard Fillmore, and Andrew Johnson, rose to the office through the death of the President. Four—George Clinton, Elbridge Gerry, William R. King, and Henry Wilson, died in office. One—John C. Calhoun, resigned in consequence of political disagreement with the President, Andrew Jackson. Two—Hanibal Hamlin and Schuyler Colfax are still living. Not a single President except the present incumbent, U. S. Grant, survives.





V.

To complete this branch of the record, we shall give, in tabulated form, beginning with the government under the Continental Congress in 1776, the Presidents and the contemporaneous rulers in England, France, Spain, Prussia, and Russia, during each Presidential period, down to the present time. During the disturbed periods in France, and latterly in Spain, when there was no fixed government, for short periods the classification is not historically exact, but is nevertheless accurate enough for the object in view:—

118			L	IVE	es o	F TI	IE	PR	ESI.	DEI	VTS	γ.		
, RUSSIA.	Catharine II.	Catharine II.	Paul I. Paul I. Alexander I.	Alexander I.	Alexander I.	Nicholas I. Nicholas I.	Nicholas I.	Nicholas I	Nicholas I.	Nicholas I.	Nicholas I.	Alexander II. Alexander II. Alexander II. Alexander II.	Alexander II.	
PRUSSIA.	Frederick II	Yered'k William II. Fred'k William II.	Fred'k William III Fred'k William III	Fred'k William III	Fred'k William III	Fred'k William III Fred'k William III	Fred'k William III	Fred'k William IV Fred'k William IV	Fred'k William IV	Fred'k William IV	Fred'k William IV	Fred'k William IV Wilhelm I	Wilhelm I.	
SPAIN.	Charles IV	Charles IV	Charles IV	Joseph Bonap'e	Ferdinand VII.	Ferdinand VII.	Isabella II	Isabella II	Isabella II	Isabella II	Isabella II.	Isabella II	Provisional	ISO XII
FRANCE.	Louis XVI	Louis XVI	Napoleon I	Napoleon I	Louis XVIII	Charles X.	Louis Faillipe.	Louis Phillipe.	Louis Phillipe.	Napoleon III	Napoleon III	Napoleon III Napoleon III Napoleon III	Napoleon III	S Tanana S
ENGLAND.	George III	George III	George III George III	George III	George III	George IV	Victoria	Victoria	Victoria	Victoria	Victoria	Victoria. Victoria.	Vietoria	a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a
UNITED STATES	Cont. Cong'ss	Washington,	AdamsJefferson	Madison	Monroe	AdamsJackson	Van Buren	Harrison	Polk.	Taylor	Pierce	Buchanan Lincoln	Grant	Administration of the Control of the
	1776-1789,	1789–1797,	1797–1801, 1801–1809,	1809-1817,	1817-1825,	1825–1829, 1829–1837,	1837-1841,	1841-1845,	1845-1849,	1849-1853,	1853-1857,	1857–1861, 1861–1865, 1865–1869,	1869-1876,	



VI.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Below is a complete list of the Cabinet Ministers, with the dur of their appointments and commission to their respective Durtions, with biographical notes, except in a few cases where whe data was unobtainable, or where the same is given clas where:

rat	S	ECI	RETA	ARIES	OF	STATE.

Appointed.

ot. 26, 1789. Thomas Jefferson, Virginia.

m. 2, 1794. Edmund Randolph, Va.; b. Va., about 1743; d. 1813. ec. 10, 1795. Timothy Pickering, Mass., b. Mass., July 17, 1745;

d. 1829.

Iay 13, 1800. John Marshall, Va.; b. Va., Sept. 24, 1755; d. July, 1835.

Mar. 5, 1801. James Madison, Virginia.

Mar. 6, 1809. Robert Smith, Md.; b. Md., 1757; d. 1842.

April 2, 1811. James Monroe, Virginia.

Mar. 5, 1817. John Quincy Adams, Massachusetts.

Mar. 7, 1825. Henry Clay, Ky.; b. Va., April 12, 1777; d. June 29, 1852.

Mar. 4, 1829. James A. Hamilton, New York (ad int.)

Mar. 6, 1829. Martin Van Buren, New York.

May 24, 1831. Edward Livingston, La.; b. New York, May 17 1786; d. May 23, 1836.

May 29, 1833. Louis McLane, Del.; b. Del., May 17, 1786; d. Oct. 1857.

LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS.

June 27, 1834. John Forsyth, Ga.; b. Va., 1780; d. 1841.

Mar. 5, 1841. Daniel Webster, Mass.; b. New Hampshire, Jan.

18, 1782; d. Oct. 24, 1852.

May 9, 1843. Hugh S. Legare, S. C.; b. S. C., Jan. 2, 1797; d. June 20, 1843.

June 24, 1843. Abel P. Upshur, Va.; b. Va., 1790; d. Feb. 28, 1844.

Feb. 9, 1844. John Nelson, Md. (ad int.)

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Mar. 6, 1844. John C. Calhoun, S. C.; b. S. C., March 18, 1782; d. March 31, 1850.

Mar. 6, 1845. James Buchanan, Pennsylvania.

Mar. 7, 1849. John M. Clayton, Del.; b. Del., July 24, 1796; d. Nov. 9, 1856.

July 20, 1850. Daniel Webster, Massachusetts.

Sept. 2, 1852. Charles M. Conrad, La. (ad int.); b. Va., about 1804. Nov. 6, 1852. Edward Everett, Mass.; b. Mass., April 11, 1794; d.

Jan. 15, 1865.

Mar. 3, 1853. Wm. Hunter, Rhode Island (ad int.)

Mar. 7, 1853. Wm. L. Marey, N. Y.; b. Mass., 1786; d. July 4, 1857.

Mar. 6, 1857. Lewis Cass, Mich.; b. N. H., Oct. 9, 1782; d. June 17, 1866.

Dec. 12, 1860. Wm. Hunter, R. I. (ad int.)

Dec. 17, 1860. Jeremiah S. Black, Pa.; b. Pa., Jan. 10, 1810.

Mar. 5, 1861. Wm. H. Seward, N. Y.; b. N. Y., May 16, 1801; d. Oct. 10, 1872.

Mar. 5, 1869. Elihu B. Washburn, Illinois; b. Maine, 1816. Mar. 11, 1869. Hamilton Fish, N. Y.; b. N. Y. City, 1809.



SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY.

Appointed.

- Sept. 11, 1789. Alexander Hamilton, N. Y.; b. Nevis, West I., Jan. 11, 1757; d. July 12, 1804.
- Feb. 2, 1795. Oliver Wolcott, Conn.; b. Conn., 1760; d. 1833.
- Jan. 1, 1801. Samuel Dexter, Mass.; b. Mass., May 14, 1761; d. May 4, 1816.
- May 14, 1801. Albert Gallatin, Pa.; b. Switzerland, Jan. 29, 1761; d. Aug. 12, 1849.
- Feb. 9, 1814. Geo. W. Campbell, Tenn.; b. Tenn., 1786; d. Feb. 17, 1848.
- Oct. 6, 1814. Alex. J. Dallas, Pa.; b. Jamaica I., June 21, 1759; d. Jan. 16, 1817.
- Oct. 22, 1816. Wm. H. Crawford, Ga.; b. Va., Feb. 21, 1772; d. Sept. 15, 1834.
- Mar. 7, 1825. Richard Rush, Pa.; b. Phila., Dec. 24, 1745; d. April, 1813.
- Mar. 6, 1829. Samuel D. Ingham, Pa.; b. Pa., Sept. 16, 1773; d. June 5, 1860.
- Aug. 8, 1831. Louis McLane, Delaware.
- May 29, 1833. Wm. J. Duane, Pa.; b. Ireland, 1780; d. Sept. 27, 1865.
- Sept. 23, 1833. Roger B. Taney, Md.; b. Md., March, 1777; d. Oct., 1864.
- June 27, 1834. Levi Woodbury, N. H.; b. N. H., Dec., 1789; d. Sept., 1851.
- Mar. 5, 1841. Thomas Ewing, Ohio; b. Va., Dec., 28, 1789; d. Oct. 26, 1871.
- Sept. 13, 1841. Walter Forward, Pa.; b. Conn., 1786; d. Nov. 24, 1852.
- Mar. 3, 1843. John C. Spencer, N. Y.; b. N. Y., 1798; d. May, 1855.
- June 15, 1844. Geo. M. Bibb, Ky.; b. Va., 1792; d. April 14, 1859.
 Mar. 6, 1845. Robert J. Walker, Miss.; b. Pa., 1801; d. Nov. 11, 1869.
- Mar. 8, 1849. Wm. M. Meredith, Pa.; b. Phila., June 8, 1799; d. Aug. 17, 1873.
- July 23, 1850. Thomas Corwin, Ohio; b. Ky., July 29, 1794; d. Dec. 18, 1865.
- Mar. 7, 1853. James Guthrie, Ky.; b. Ky., Dec. 5, 1792; d. Mar. 13, 1869.
- Mar. 6, 1857. Howell Cobb, Ga.; b. Ga., Sept. 7, 1815; d. Oct. 9, 1868.
- Dec. 12, 1860. P. Frank Thomas, Md.; b. Md., 1810.
- Jan. 11, 1861. John A. Dix, N. Y.; b. N. H., July 24, 1798.

LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS.

Mar. 7, 1861. Salmon P. Chase, Ohio; b. N. H., Jan. 13, 1808; d.

May 7, 1873.

Luly 1, 1864. Wm. Pitt. Fessenden, Me.: b. N. H., Oct. 1806; d.

July 1, 1864. Wm. Pitt Fessenden, Me.; b. N. H., Oct. 1806; d. Sept. 8, 1869.

Mar. 7, 1865. Hugh McCulloch, Indiana.

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Mar. 11, 1869. Geo. S. Boutwell, Mass.; b. Mass., Jan. 28, 1818.

Mar. 17, 1873. Wm. A. Richardson, Mass. June 4, 1874. Benj. H. Bristow, Kentucky.



SECRETARIES OF WAR.

Appointed.

Sept. 12, 1789. Henry Knox, Mass.; b. Boston, July 25, 1752; d. Oct. 1806.

Jan. 2, 1795. Timothy Pickering, Mass.; b. Mass., July 17, 1745; d. Jan., 1829.

Jan. 27, 1796. James McHenry, Md.

May 13, 1800. Samuel Dexter, Mass.

Mar. 5, 1801. Henry Dearborn, Mass.; b. N. H., Feb. 23, 1751; d. June 6, 1829.

Mar. 7, 1809. William Eutis, Mass.; b. Mass., June 10, 1753; d. Feb. 6, 1825.

Jan. 13, 1813. John Armstrong, Pa.; b. Pa., Nov. 25, 1755; d. April 1, 1843.

Sept. 27, 1814. James Monroe, Va. (ad int.)

Mar. 3, 1815. Wm. H. Crawford, Ga.

April 7, 1817. George Graham.

Dec. 15, 1817. John C. Calhoun, S. C.

Mar. 7, 1825. James Barbour, Va.; b. Va., 1775; d. 1842.

May 26, 1828. Peter B. Porter, Conn.; b. Conn., 1773; d. 1844.

Mar. 9, 1829. John H. Eaton, Tenn.; b. Tenn., about 1790; d. Nov. 17, 1856.

Aug. 1, 1831. Lewis Cass, Michigan.

Oct. 26, 1836. Benj. F. Butler, New York.

Mar. 7, 1837. Joel R. Poinsett, S. C.; b. S. C., about 1785; d. 1851.

Mar. 5, 1841. John Bell, Tenn.; b. Tenn., Feb., 15, 1797; d. Sept. 10, 1869.

Oct. 12, 1841. John C. Spencer, New York. Mar. 9, 1843. James M. Porter (ad int.)

Mar. 9, 1843. James M. Porter (ad int.) Feb. 15, 1844. Wm. Wilkins, Pa.; b. Pa., 1779; d. June, 1865.

Mar. 5, 1845. Wm. L. Marcy, New York.

Mar. 6, 1849. Geo. W. Crawford, Ga.; b. Ga., Dec. 22, 1798.

July 15, 1850. Charles M. Conrad, Louisiana.

Mar. 7, 1853. Jefferson Davis, Miss.; b. Ky., June 3, 1808.

Mar. 5, 1857. John B. Floyd, Va.; b. Va., 1805; d. Aug. 26, 1863.

Dec. 31, 1861. Joseph Holt, Ky.; b. Ky., Jan. 6, 1807.

Mar. 4, 1861. Simon Cameron, Pa.; b. Pa., Mar. 17, 1799.

Jan. 11, 1862. E. M. Stanton, Pa.; b. Ohio, 1815; d. Dec., 1869.

Aug. 12, 1867. U. S. Grant (ad int.)

— 1868. E. M. Stanton, Pa.

April 23, 1868. John M. Schofield, N. Y.; b. N. Y., 1831.

Mar. 11, 1869. John A. Rawlins, b. Ill., 1831; d. Sept. 7, 1869.

Sept. 6, 1869. Wm. T. Sherman, Ohio (ad int.); b. Lancaster, Ohio, Feb. 8, 1820.

Oct. 3, 1869. W. W. Belknap, Iowa; b. N. Y., Sept. 22, 1829.

Mar. 7, 1876. Alfonso Taft, Ohio; b. Vermont, Nov. 5, 1810.

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY.

Appointed.

May 3, 1798. George Cabot, Mass.; b. Mass., 1751; d. 1823.

May 21, 1798. Benj. Stoddard, Md.

July 15, 1801. Robert Smith, Maryland.

Mar. 7, 1809. Paul Hamilton, S. C.; b. about 1750; d. June 30, 1816.

Jan. 12, 1813. Wm. Jones, Pa., b. about 1760; d. 1831.

Dec. 19, 1814. Benj. W. Crowninshield, Mass.; b. Boston, 1777; d. 1851.

Nov. 9, 1818. Smith Thompson, N. Y.; b. N. Y., 1767; d. 1843.

Sept. 16, 1823. Samuel L. Southard, N. J.; b. N. J., June, 1787; d. June, 1842.

Mar. 9, 1829. John Branch, N. C.; b. N. C., Nov. 4, 1782; d. Jan. 4, 1863.

May 23, 1831. Levi Woodbury, New Hampshire.

June 30, 1834. Mahlon Dickerson, New Jersey; b. N. J. 1769; d. Oct. 5, 1853.

June 25, 1838. James K. Paulding, N. Y.; b. N. Y., Aug., 1779; d. 1860.

Mar. 5, 1841. Geo. E. Badger, N. C.; b. N. C., April 13, 1795; d. May 11, 1866.

Sept. 13, 1841. Abel P. Upshur, Va.; b. Va., 1790; d. Feb. 28, 1844.

July 24, 1843. David Henshaw, Mass. (ad. int.); b. Mass., April 2, 1791; d. Nov. 11, 1852.

Feb. 15, 1844. Thomas W. Gilmer, Va.; b. Va., about 1795; d. Feb. 28, 1844.

Mar. 14, 1844. John Y. Mason, Va.; b. Va., April 18, 1799: d. Oct. 3, 1859.

Mar. 10, 1845. George Bancroft, Mass.; b. Mass., Oct. 3, 1800.

Sept. 9, 1846. John Y. Mason, Virginia.

Mar. 8, 1849. Wm. B. Preston, Virginia.; b. Va., about 1796; d. Nov. 16, 1862.

July 22, 1850. Wm. A. Graham. N. C.; b. N. C., Sept. 11, 1804; d. Aug. 11, 1875.

July 22, 1852. John P. Kennedy, Md.; b. Md., Oct. 25, 1795; d. Aug. 18, 1870.

Mar. 7, 1853. James C. Dobbin, N. C.; b. N. C., 1793; d. 1857.

Mar. 6, 1857. Isaac Toucey, Conn.; b. Conn., 1798; d. July 30, 1869.

Mar. 5, 1861. Gideon Welles, Conn.; b. Hartford, 1802.

Mar. 5, 1869. A. E. Borie, Pa.; b. Philadelphia, 1809.

June 25, 1869. Geo. M. Robeson, New Jersey.

SECRETARIES OF THE INTERIOR.

Appointed.

Mar. 4, 1849. Thomas Ewing, Ohio.

July 22, 1850. Alex. A. H. Stuart, Va.; b. Va., 1801.

Mar. 6, 1853. Robert McClelland, Mich., b. Pa., about 1812.

Mar. 5, 1857. Jacob Thompson, N. C.; b. N. C., 1810.

Mar. 5, 1861. Caleb B. Smith, Ind.; b. Mass., 1808; d. Jan., 1864.

Jan. 8, 1863. John P. Usher.

May 15, 1865. James Harlan, Iowa, b. Ill., Aug. 26, 1820.

Sept. 1, 1866. Orville H. Browning, Ill; b. Ky., about 1810.

Mar. 5, 1869. Jacob D. Cox, Ohio; b. Montreal, Can., Oct. 27, 1828.

Nov. 1, 1870. Columbus Delano, Ohio; b. Vermont, 1809.

Oct. 19, 1875. Zachariah Chandler, Mich.; b. N. H., Dec. 10, 1813.



ATTORNEYS-GENERAL.

	MITORINETS-OBNERIES.
Appointed.	Edward Dardelah Vinninia
Sept. 27, 1789.	Edmund Randolph, Virginia. Wm. Bradford, Pa.; b. Phila., Sept. 14, 1755; d.
Jan. 27, 1794.	Aug. 23, 1795.
Dec. 10, 1795.	Charles Lee, Va.; b. Va., about 1756; d. 1815.
Mar. 5, 1801.	Levi Lincoln, Mass.; b. Mass., 1749; d. 1820.
May 4, 1805.	Robert Smith, Md.
Aug. 7, 1805.	John Breckinridge, Ky.; b Va., about 1750; d. 1806.
Jan. 26, 1808.	Cæsar A. Rodney, Del.; b. Del., Jan. 4, 1772; d. June 10, 1824.
Dec. 11, 1811.	William Pinckney, Md., b. Md. March 17, 1765; d. Feb. 25, 1822.
Feb. 10, 1814.	Richard Rush, Pa.; b. Phila., Dec. 24, 1745; d. April, 1813.
Dec. 16, 1817.	Wm. Wirt, Md.; b. Md., Nov., 1772; d. Feb., 1834.
Mar. 9, 1829.	John M. Berrien, Ga.; b. N. J., 1781; d. Jan. 1, 1856.
July 20, 1831.	Roger B. Taney, Md.; b. Md., Mar., 1777; d. Oct., 1864.
Nov. 15, 1833.	Benj. F. Butler, N. Y.; b. Albany, Dec. 5, 1795; d. Nov. 18, 1858.
Sept. 1, 1838.	Felix Grundy, Tenn.; b. Va., Sept. 11, 1777; d. Dec. 17, 1840.
Jan. 11, 1840.	Henry D. Gilpin, Pa.; b. Phila., 1801; d. 1860.
Mar. 5, 1841.	John J. Crittenden, Ky.; b. Ky., Sept. 10, 1786; d. July 26, 1863.
Sept. 13, 1841.	Hugh S. Legare, South Carolina.
July 1, 1843.	John Nelson, Md., b. Md., about 1791.
Mar. 6, 1845.	John Y. Mason, Virginia.
Oct. 17, 1846.	Nathan Clifford, Me., b. N. H., Aug. 18, 1803.
June 21, 1848.	Isaac Toucey, Connecticut.
Mar. 8, 1849.	Reverdy Johnson, Md.; b. Annapolis, May 2, 1797; d. Feb. 10, 1876.
July 22, 1850.	Jno. J. Crittenden, Kentucky.
Mar. 5, 1853.	Caleb Cushing, Mass.; b. Mass., Jan. 17, 1800.
Mar. 5, 1857.	Jeremiah S. Black, Pennsylvania.
Dec. 20, 1860.	E. M. Stanton, Pennsylvania.
Mar. 5, 1861.	Edward Bates, Mo.; b. Va., Sept. 4, 1793; d. Mar. 25, 1869.
Dec. 2, 1864,	James Speed, Kentucky.
July 24, 1866.	Henry Stanbery, Ohio.
Mar. 3, 1868.	O. H. Browning, Illinois.
July 20, 1868.	Wm. M. Evarts, N. Y.; b. Boston, Feb., 1818.
Mar. 5, 1869.	E. Rockwood Hoar, Mass.; b. Mass., Feb. 21, 1816.
June 23, 1870.	Amos T. Ackerman, Ga.; b. N. H., 1813.
Dec. 14, 1871.	Geo. H. Williams, Oregon.
May 15, 1875.	Edwards Pierrepout, N. Y.

POSTMASTERS-GENERAL.

Appointed.

Sept. 26, 1789. Samuel Osgood, Mass.; b. Mass., 1748; d. 1813.

Nov. 7, 1791. Timothy Pickering, Massachusetts.

Joseph Habersham, Ga.; b. Savannah, 1756; d. 1815. Feb. 25, 1795.

Gideon Granger, Conn.; b. Conn., July 19, 1767; d. Jan. 26, 1802. Dec. 31, 1822.

Return J. Meigs, Ohio; b. about 1769; d. 1825. Mar. 17, 1814.

John McLean, Ohio; b. N. J., Mar. 1785; d. April, Dec. 9, 1823.

4, 1861.

Mar. 9, 1829. Wm. T. Barry, Ky.; b. Feb. 5, 1784; d. Aug. 30, 1835.

May 1, 1835. Amos Kendall, Ky.; b. Mass., Aug. 16, 1789; d. Nov. 11, 1869.

May 25, 1840. J. M. Niles, Conn.; b. Conn., 1787; d. 1856.

Mar. 6, 1841. Francis Granger, N. Y.; b. Conn., Dec. 1, 1792; d. Aug. 28, 1868.

Chas. A. Wickliffe, Kentucky., b. Ky., June 8, 1788. Sept. 13, 1841.

Mar. 5, 1845. Cave Johnson, Tenn.; b. Tenn., Jan. 11, 1773; d. Nov. 23, 1866.

Jacob Collamer, Vt.; b. N. Y., 1782; d. Nov. 9, Mar. 7, 1849. 1865.

July 20, 1850. Nathan K. Hall, N. Y.; b. N. Y., Mar. 28, 1810; d. Mar. 2, 1874.

Samuel D. Hubbard, Conn.; b. Conn., Aug. 10, Sept. 14, 1852. 1799; d. Oct. 8, 1855.

James Campbell, Pa.; b. Philadelphia, 1813. Mar. 7, 1853.

Mar. 6, 1857. A. V. Brown, Tenn.; b. S. C., 1813; d. 1859.

Mar. 14. 1859. Joseph Holt, Kentucky.

Feb. 12, 1861. Horatio King, Me.; b. Me., June 21, 1811.

Mar. 7, 1861. Montgomery Blair, Md.; b. Ky., May 10, 1813.

Oct. 1, 1864. Wm. Dennison, Ohio; b. Cincinnati, Nov. 23, 1815. July 24, 1866. A. W. Randall, Wis.; b. ——; d. July 25, 1872.

Mar. 5, 1869. John A. J. Creswell, Md.; b. Md., Nov. 18, 1828.

July 3, 1874. J. W. Marshall, Va.

Sept. 1, 1874. Marshall Jewell, Conn.; b. N. H., Mar. 20, 1825.



CHIEF JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT.

Appointed.

Sept. 26, 1789. John Jay, N. Y.; b. N. Y., Dec. 12, 1745; d. May 17, 1829.

July, 1795. John Rutledge, S. C.; b. Charleston, 1739; d. July, 1800.

Dec. 1795. Oliver Ellsworth, Conn.; b. Conn., April 29, 1745; d. 1807.

Jan. 31, 1801. John Marshall, Va.; b. Sept. 24, 1755; d. July, 1835.

Mar. 1836. Roger B. Taney, Md.; b. Md., Mar. 1777; d. Oct.,

Oct. 1864. Salmon P. Chase, Ohio: b. N. H., Jan. 13, 1808; d. May 7, 1873.

Jan. 19, 1874. Morrison R. Waite, Ohio; b. Conn., — 1816.



PRESIDENTS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

Elected.

Sept. 5, 1774. Peyton Randolph, Va.; b. Va., 1723; d. Oct., 1775.

Oct. 22, 1774. Henry Middleton, S. C.

May 10, 1775. Peyton Randolph, Virginia.

May 24, 1775. John Hancock, Mass.; b. Mass., Jan. 12, 1737; d.

Oct., 1793.

Nov. 1, 1777. Henry Laurens, S. C.; b. S. C., 1724; d. 1792.

Dec. 10, 1778. John Jay, N. Y.; b. N. Y., Dec. 12, 1745; d. May 17, 1829.

Sept. 28, 1779. Samuel Huntington, Conn.; b. Conn., 1732; d. 1796.

July 10, 1781. Thos. McKean, Del.; b. Pa., Mar. 19, 1734; d. June 24, 1817.

Nov. 5, 1781. \ John Hanson, Md.

Nov. 4, 1782. Elias Budinot, N. J.

Nov. 3, 1783. Thomas Mifflin, Pa.; b. Phila., 1744; d. 1800.

Nov. 30, 1784. Richard Henry Lee, Va.; b. Va., Jan. 20, 1732; d. June 19, 1794.

June 6, 1786. Nathaniel Gorham, Mass.

Feb. 2, 1787. Authur St. Clair, Pa.; b. Scotland, 1735; d. 1818. Jan. 22, 1788. Cyrus Griffin, Va.; b. Va., 1749; d. Dec. 14, 1810.





VII.

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION.

THE following are the distinguished patriots who signed the Declaration of Independence, which was proclaimed to the world on the 4th day of July, 1776, and which will ever be commemorated as the birthday of the Republic. It will be seen that Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania, was the oldest man that signed the document, being seventy years of age, while the youngest was Ed.Rutledge, of South Carolina, who was but twenty-five. The former survived the utterance of the Declaration fourteen years, and the latter twenty-five years, the former living to see the government successfully established. The first signer that died was John Morton, of Pennsylvania, in April, 1777, nine months subsequent to attaching his signature to the credentials of human liberty; and the last survivor of the immortal band was Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, who died on the 14th of November, 1832, fifty-six years, four months, and ten days after the Declaration was promulgated, and when the new nation had grown to be one of the powers of the earth:

	Represented.	Nativity.	Died.
Adams, Samuel Bartlett, Joseph Braxton, Carter Carroll, Chas	Dodo New Hampshire, Virginia Maryland	Mass. Oct. 19, 1735 Mass. Sep. 27, 1732 Mass. Nov. 1729 Va. Sept. 10, 1736 Md. Sept. 20, 1737 Md. Apr. 17, 1726	Oct. 2, 1803. May 19, 1795. Oct. 10, 1797. Nov. 14, 1832.

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION.

	Represented.	Nativity.	Died.
Clark, Abraham,	New Jersey	N. J. Feb. 15, 1741	Sept., 1794,
Clymer, Geo	Pennsylvania	Pa. — 1739	Jan. 23, 1813.
Ellery, Wm Floyd, Wm	Rhode Island	R. I. Dec. 22, 1727	Feb. 15, 1820.
Floyd, Wm	New York	N. Y. Dec. 17, 1734	Aug. 4, 1821.
Franklin, Benj	Pennsylvania	Mass. Jan 17, 1706	Apr. 17, 1790.
Gerry, Elbridge .	Massachusetts	Mass. July 17,1744	
Gwinnett, Button	Georgia	England, 1732	May 27, 1777.
Hall, Lyman	Georgia	Conn., 1/3/	Feb., 1790.
Hancock, John	Massachusetts	Conn., 1737 Mass., 1737 Virginia, N. J., 1715 S. C., 1746 N. J., 1730	Oct. 8, 1793.
Harrison, Benj	Virginia New Jersey	Virginia,	1791.
Hart, John Heywood, T. Jr.,	South Carolina	17.5., 1715 1746	March, 1809.
Hewes, Joseph	North Carolina	N. J., 1730	Nov. 10, 1779.
Hooper, Wm	North Carolina	Mass June 17,1742	Oct. 1790
Hopkins, Steph'n	Rhode Island	Mass. Mar. 7, 1707	
Hopkinson, Fra's	New Jersey		May 9, 1790.
Huntington, S	Connecticut	Conn. July 3, 1732	
Jefferson, Thos	Virginia	Va., Apr. 13, 1743	
Lee, Fra's L'tfoot	Virginia	Va., Oct. 14, 1734	April, 1797.
Lee, Rich. Henry	Virginia	Va., Jan. 20, 1732	June 19, 1794.
Lewis, Francis	New York	Wales, Mar., 1713	
Livingston, Phil.	New York	N. Y. Jan. 15,1716	
Lynch, Thos. Jr.,	South Carolina	S. C. Aug. 5, 1749	At sea, 1779.
McKean, Thos	Delaware	Pa., Mar. 19, 1734	June 24, 1817.
Middleton, Arth.	South Carolina	S. C., 1743	Jan. 1, 1787.
Morris, Lewis	New York	S. C., 1743 N. Y., 1726 England, 1733 Pa., 1724	Jan. 22, 1798.
Morris, Robert	Pennsylvania	England, 1733	Mar. 8, 1806.
Morton, John Nelson, Thos. Jr.,	Pennsylvania	Pa., 1724	April, 1777.
Paca, William	Virginia	Va., Dec. 26, 1738 Md., Oct. 31, 1740	
Paine, Robert J.	Maryland Massachusetts		
Penn, John	North Carolina	Mass., 1731 Va., May 17, 1741	
Read, George	Delaware	Md., 1734	
Rodney, Cæsar	Delaware	Md., 1734 Del., 1730	
Ross, George	Pennsylvania	Del., 1730	
Rush, Benj. M.D.	Pennsylvania	Pa., Dec. 24, 1745	
Rutledge, Ed	South Carolina	S. C., Nov. 1749	
Sherman, Roger,	Connecticut	Mass. Apr. 19, 1721	July 23, 1793.
Smith, James	Pennsylvania	Ireland,	July 11, 1806.
Stockton, Rich	New Jersey	N. J., Oct. 1, 1730	
Stone, Thomas	Maryland	Md., 1742	
Taylor, George	Pennsylvania		Feb. 23, 1781.
Thornton, Matt	New Hampshire,		June 24, 1803.
Walton, George	Georgia		Feb. 2, 1804.
Whipple, Wm	New Hampshire,		Nov. 28, 1785.
Williams, Wm	Connecticut	Conn, Apr. 8, 1731	Aug. 2, 1811.
Withorspoon I	Pennsylvania	Scotland, 1742	Aug. 28, 1798. Nov. 15, 1794.
Witherspoon, J.	New Jersey	Conn Nov 26, 1726	Dec 1 1797
Walcott, Oliver Wythe, George	Virginia		June 8, 1806.
		1,20	



VIII.

FIRST AND FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESSES.

The following comprise the names of the members of the First and Forty-fourth Congresses as constituted during the first sessions of each of these bodies. Rhode Island was not represented in either branch of the First Congress, nor until 1790, when the Second Congress assembled. North Carolina was not represented in the House until 1790.

FIRST CONGRESS.

SENATORS.

CONNECTICUT.

Oliver Ellsworth, Wm. S. Johnson.

DELAWARE.

Richard Bassett, George Read.

GEORGIA.

Wm. Few, James Gunn.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Tristram Dalton, Cable Strong.

MARYLAND.

Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, John Henry.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Benj. Hawkins, Samuel Johnson. NEW HAMPSHIRE.

John Langdon, Paine Wingate.

NEW JERSEY.

Wm. Patterson, Jonathan Elmer.

NEW YORK.

Rufus King, Philip Schuyler.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Wm. Maclay, Robert Morris.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Pierce Butler, Kalph Izard.

VIRGINIA.

Richard Henry Lee, Wm. Gravson.

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REPRESENTATIVES.

CONNECTICUT.

B. Huntington, Roger Sherman, Jonathan Sturges, Johnathan Trumbull, Jere. Wadsworth.

DELAWARE.

John Vining.

GEORGIA.

A. Baldwin, James Jackson, George Mathews.

MASSACHUSETTS.
Fisher Ames,
Elbridge Gerry,
Benjamin Goodhue,
Jonathan Grant,
George Leonard,
George Partridge,
T. Sedgwick,
George Thacher.

MARYLAND.

Daniel Carroll, Benjamin Contee, George Gale, Joshua Seney, Wm. Smith, Micheal Stone.

NEW YORK.

Egbert Benson, William Floyd, John Hathorne, John Lawrence, Peter Silvester, J. Van Rensselear, NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Abdiel Foster, Nicholas Gilman, S. Livermore.

NEW JERSEY. Elias Budinot, Lambert Cadwallader, James Schureman, Thos. Sinnickson.

PENNSYLVANIA.

George Clymer, T. Fitzsimmons, Thomas Hartley, Daniel Heister, F. A. Muhlenberg, Thomas Scott, Henry Wynkoop.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Edamus Burke, Daniel Huger, William Smith, Thomas Sumter, Thomas T. Tucker.

VIRGINIA.

Theodore Bland, John Browne, Isaac Coles, Samuel Griffin, Richard B. Lee, James Madison, Andrew Moore, John Page, Josiah Parker, Alex. White.

FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

SENATORS.

ALABAMA. George Goldthwaite, George E. Spencer.

ARKANSAS.

Powell Clayton, Stephen W. Dorsey.

CALIFORNIA.

Aaron A. Sargeant, Newton Booth.

CONNECTICUT.

James E. English, William W. Eaton.

DELAWARE.

Eli Saulsbury, Thomas F. Bayard.

FLORIDA.

Simon B. Conover, Charles W. Jones.

GEORGIA.

Thomas M. Norwood, John B. Gordon.

ILLINOIS.

John A. Logan, Richard J. Oglesby.

INDIANA.

Oliver P. Morton, Jos. E. McDonald.

IOWA.

George G. Wright, William B. Allison.

KANSAS.

James M. Harvey, John J. Ingalls.

KENTUCKY.

John W. Stevenson, Thomas C. McCreery.

J. Rodman West,

MAINE.

Lot M. Morrill, Hannibal Hamlin.

MARYLAND.

George R. Dennis, W. Pinckney Whyte.

MASSACHUSETTS.

George S. Boutwell, Henry L. Dawes.

MICHIGAN.

Thomas W. Ferry, Isaac P. Christiancy.

MINNESOTA.

William Windom, S. J. R. McMillan.

MISSISSIPPI.

James L. Alcorn, Branch K. Bruce (col'd).

MISSOURI.

Louis V. Bogy, F. M. Cockerell.

NEBRASKA.

P. W. Hitchcock, A. S. Paddock.

NEVADA.

John P. Jones, William Sharon.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Aaron H. Cragin, Bainbridge Wadliegh.

NEW JERSEY.

F. T. Frelinghuysen, Theo. F. Randolph.

NEW YORK.

Roscoe Conkling, Francis Kernan.

NORTH CAROLINA.

M. W. Ransom, A. S. Merrimon. OHIO.

John Sherman, A. G. Thurman.

OREGON.

James K. Kelly, J. Hipple Mitchell.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Simon Cameron, William A. Wallace.

RHODE ISLAND.

Henry B. Anthony, A. E. Burnside.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Thomas J. Robertson, John J. Patterson.

TENNESSEE.

Henry Cooper, David M. Key. TEXAS.

M. C. Hamilton, Samuel B. Maxey.

VERMONT.

Justin S. Morrill, George F. Edmunds.

VIRGINIA.

John W. Johnson, Robert E. Withers.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Henry G. Davis, Allen J. Caperton.

WISCONSIN.

Timothy O. Howe, Angus Cameron.

REPRESENTATIVES.

ALABAMA.

J. Harolson (col'd), Jere. N. Williams, Saul Bradford, Charles Hayes, J. H. Caldwell, Goldsmith W. Hewitt, Burwell B. Lewis, W. H. Forney.

ARKANSAS.

L. C. Gause, W. F. Slemons, William W. Wiltshire, Thomas M. Gunter.

CALIFORNIA.

William A. Piper, Horace F. Page, John K. Lutterell, P. D. Wigginton.

CONNECTICUT.

George M. Landers, James Phelps, H. W. Starkweather (dead), William H. Barnum.

DELAWARE.

James Williams.

FLORIDA.

William J. Purman, Josiah T. Walls (col'd). GEORGIA.

Julian Hartridge,
William E. Smith,
Philip Cook,
Henry R. Harris,
Milton A. Candler,
James H. Blount,
William F. Filton,
Alexander H. Stephens,
Benj. A. Hill.

ILLINOIS.

B. G. Caulfield,
C. H. Harrison,
C. B. Farwell,
S. A. Hurlburt,
H. C. Burchard,
T. J. Henderson,
Alexander Campbell,
G. L. Fort,
R. H. Whiting,
John C. Bayley,
Scott Wike,
William M. Springer,
A. E. Stevenson,
Joseph G. Cannon,
John R. Eden,
William A. J. Sparks,
William R. Morrison,
William Hartzell,

William B. Anderson.

INDIANA.

B. S. Fuller,
J. D. Williams,
M. C. Kerr.
Jeptha D. New,
William S. Holman,
M. S. Robinson,
F. Landers,
Morton C. Hunter,
Thomas J. Cason,
W. S. Haymond,
James L. Evans,
Andrew Hamilton,
J. H. Baker.

IOWA.

George W. McCrary, John Q. Tufts, L. L. Ainsworth, Henry O. Pratt, James Wilson, E. S. Sampson, John A. Kassan, J. W. McDill, Addison Oliver.

KANSAS.

William A. Phillips, J. R. Goodin, William R. Brown.

KENTUCKY.

A. R. Boone,
John Y. Brown,
C. W. Milliken,
J. Proctor Knott,
E. Y. Parsons,
Thomas L. Jones,
J. C. S. Blackburn,
M. J. Durham,
John D. White,
John B. Clarke.

LOUISIANA.

R. L. Gibson, E. J. Ellis, C. B. Darrall, William M. Levy, Frank Morey, Charles E. Nash (colored).

MAINE.

John H. Burleigh, William P. Frye, James G. Blaine, H. M. Plaisted, Eugene Hale.

MARYLAND.

P. F. Thomas, C. B. Roberts, William J. O'Brien, Thomas Swann, Eli J. Henkle, William Walsh.

MASSACHUSETTS.

William W. Crapo, B. W. Harris, Henry L. Pierce, Rufus S. Frost, N. P. Banks, C. P. Thompson, John K. Tarbox, William W. Warren, George F. Hoar, Julius H. Seelye, C. W. Chapin.

MICHIGAN.

A. S. Williams, Henry Waldron, George Willard, Allen Potter, William B. Williams, George H. Durand, O. D. Conger, N. B. Bradley, J. A. Hubbell.

MINNESOTA.

M. H. Dunnell, H. B. Strait, William S. King.

MISSISSIPPI.

L. Q. C. Lamar, G. Wiley Wells, H. D. Money, O. R. Singleton, C. E. Hooker, J. R. Lynch (col'd).

MISSOURI.

E. C. Kehr,
Erastus Weils,
William H. Stone,
R. A. Hatcher,
Richard P. Bland,
C. H. Morgan,
I. F. Phillips,
B. J. Franklin,
David Rea,
Regin A. De Bolt,
J. B. Clark, Jr.,
J. M. Glover,
A. H. Buckner.

NEBRASKA.

Lorenzo Crounse.

NEVADA.

William Woodburn.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Frank Jones, Samuel N. Bell, Henry W. Blair.

NEW JERSEY.

C. H. Sinnickson, S. A. Dobbins, Miles Ross, Robert Hamilton, A. W. Cutler, F. H. Teese, A. A. Hardenbergh.

NEW YORK.

H. B. Metcalfe, J. G. Schumaker, S. B. Chittenden, A. M. Bliss, E. R. Meade, Samuel S. Cox, Smith Ely, Jr., Elijah Ward, Fernando Wood, A. S. Hewitt, Benjamin A. Willis, N. Holmes Odell, J. O. Whitehouse, George M. Beebe, J. H. Bagley, Jr., C. H. Adams, M. I. Townsend, A. Williams, William A. Wheeler, H. H. Hathorn, S. F. Miller, George A. Bagley, Scott Lord, William H. Baker, E. W. Leavenworth, C. D. MacDougall, E. G. Lapham, Thomas C. Platt, C. B. Walker, John M. Davy, George G. Hoskins, Lyman K. Bass, N. I. Norton.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Jesse J. Yeates, John A. Hyman (col'd), A. M. Waddell, NORTH CAROLINA-Continued.

J. J. Davis, A. M. Scales, Thos. Ashe, William M. Robbins, R. B. Vance.

OHIO.
Milton Sayler,
H. B. Banning,
John S. Savage,
J. A. McMahon,
A. V. Rice,
F. H. Hurd,
L. T. Neal,
William Lawrence,
E. F. Poppleton,
Charles Foster,
John L. Vance,
A. T. Walling,
M. I. Southard,
J. P. Cowan,
N. H. Van Vorhes,
Lorenzo Danford,
L. D. Woodworth,
James Monroe,
J. A. Garfield,
Henry B. Payne.

OREGON.

Lafayette Lane.

PENNSYLVANIA.

C. Freeman, Charles O'Niell, S. J. Randall, W. D. Kelley, John Robbins, Washington Townsend, Alon Wood, Jr., Heister Clymer, A. Herr Smith, William Mutchler, F. D. Collins, W. W. Ketchem, J. B. Rielly, J. B. Packer, Joseph Powell, Sobieski Ross, John Rielly, William S. Stenger, Levi Maish, Louis A. Mackey, Jacob Turney, J. H. Hopkins, Alexander G. Cochran, J. W. Wallace, George A. Jenks, James Sheakley, A. G. Egbert.

RHODE ISLAND.

Benjamin T. Eames, L. W. Ballou.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

J. H. Rainey (col'd), E. W. M. Mackey, Soloman L. Hoge, Alexander S. Wallace, Robert Smalls (col'd).

TENNESSEE.

William McFarland,
J. M. Thornburgh,
George B. Dibrell,
J. Y. Riddle,
John F. House,
Washington C. Whitthorne,
J. D. C. Atkins,
W. P. Caldwell,
H. Casey Young.

TEXAS.

J. H. Reagan,
D. B. Culbertson,
J. W. Throckmorton,
R. Q. Mills,
John Hancock,
Gus. Schleicher.

VERMONT.

Charles H. Joyce, Dudley C. Denison, George W. Hendee.

VIRGINIA.

Beverly B. Douglas, John Goode, Jr., G. C. Walker, W. H. H. Stowell, George C. Cabell, J. R. Tucker, John T. Harris, Eppa Hunton, William Terry.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Benjamin Wilson, Charles J. Faulkner, Frank Hereford.

WISCONSIN.

Charles G. Williams, L. B. Caswell, Henry S. Magoon, William Pitt Lynde, S. D. Burchard, A. M. Kimball, Jere. M. Rusk, George W. Cate.

TERRITORIAL DELEGATES.

ARIZONA. Hiram S. Stevens.

COLORADO.

Thomas M. Patterson.

DAKOTA.

Jeff. P. Kidder.

IDAHO.

Thomas W. Bennett.

MONTANA.

Martin Maginnis.

NEW MEXICO. Stephen B. Elkins.

UTAH.

George Q. Cannon.

WASHINGTON.

Orange Jacobs.

WYOMING.

William R. Steele.

SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE.

THE following is the official list of the Speakers of the House of Representatives, with the date of their respective elections, term of service, and the States they represented when chosen as Speakers:

First-Fredrick A. Muhlenberg, Pennsylvania, April 1, 1789, to March 3, 1791.

Second-Johnathan Trumbull, Connecticut, October 24, 1791, to March 3, 1793.

Third-Fredrick A. Muhlenberg, Pennsylvania, December 2, 1793, to March 3, 1795.

Fourth— | Johnathan Dayton, New Jersey, December 9, 1795, to Fifth— | March 3, 1799.

Sixth—Theodore Sedgwick, Massachusetts, December 2, 1799, to March 3, 1801.

Seventh— Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina, December 7, 1801, to Eighth-March 3, 1807. Ninth-

Joseph B. Varnam, Massachusetts, October 26, 1807, to Eleventh-March 3, 1811.

Twelfth-Thirteenth-

Fourteenth- Henry Clay, Kentucky, Nov. 4, 1811, to Mar. 3, 1821. Fifteenth-Sixteenth-

Seventeenth-Philip P. Barbour, Virginia, December 3, 1821, to March 3, 1823.

Eighteenth—Henry Clay, Kentucky, December 1, 1823, to March 3, 1825.

Nineteenth-John W. Taylor, New York, December 5, 1825, to March 3, 1827.

Andrew Stephenson, Virginia, December 3, 1827, Twentieth—

Twenty-first— to June 3, 1834.

Twenty-second— June 4, 1834, to March 3, 1835.

Twenty-fourth- | James K. Polk, Tennessee, December 7, 1835, to March 3, 1839. Twenty-fifth—

Twenty-sixth—Robert M. T. Hunter, Virginia, December 16, 1839, to March 3, 1841,

Twenty-seventh-John White, Kentucky, May 31, 1841, to March 3. 1843.

Twenty-eighth-John W. Jones, Virginia, December 4, 1843, to March 3, 1845.

Twenty-ninth-John W. Davis, Indiana, December 4, 1845, to March 3, 1847.

Thirtieth—Robert C. Winthrop, Massachusetts, December 16, 1847, to March 3, 1849.

Thirty-first—Howell Cobb, Georgia, December 24, 1849, to March 3, 1851.

Thirty-second— Lynn Boyd, Kentucky, December 4, 1851, to Thirty-third— March 3, 1855.

Thirty-fourth—Nathaniel P. Banks, Massachusetts, February 2, 1856, to March 3, 1857.

Thirty-fifth-James L. Orr, South Carolina, December 5, 1857, to March 3, 1859.

Thirty-sixth—William Pennington, New Jersey, February 1, 1860, to March 3, 1861.

Thirty-seventh—Galusha A. Grow, Pennsylvania, July-4, 1861, to March 3, 1863.

Thirty-eighth— Schuyler Colfax, Indiana, December 7, 1863, to
Thirty-ninth— March 2, 1869.

Theo. M. Pomeroy, New York, served from March
2 to March 3, 1869.

Forty-second— Forty-third— } James G. Blaine, Me., Mar. 4, 1869, to Mar. 3, 1875.

Forty-fourth—Michael C. Kerr, Indiana, December 6, 1875, term unexpired.



PRESIDENTS PRO TEM. OF THE SENATE.

1st Cong.,	John Langdon, N. H.	18th(Con	g.John Galliard, S. C.
24 " 5	Richard Henry Lee, Va.	19th	66	Nathaniel Macon, N. C.
2d " }	Richard Henry Lee, Va. John Langdon, N. H.			•
(Ralph Izard, S. C.	20th	6.6	Nathaniel Macon, N. C. Samuel Smith, Md.
3d " }	Henry Tazewell, Va.	21st	66	Samuel Smith, Md.
4th " 5	Sam'l Livermore, N. H.			(Littleton W. Tazewell,
	Wm. Bingham, Pa.	22d	66	Va.
(Wm. Bradford, R. I.			Hugh L. White, Tenn.
	Jacob Read, S. C.			Geo. Poindexter, Miss.
5th " {	Theo. Sedgwick, Mass.	23d	66	John Tyler, Va.
1	John Lawrence, N. Y.	24th	66	William R. King, Ala.
,	James Ross, Pa.	25th		William R. King, Ala.
	Sam'l Livermore, N. H.			
6th " {	Uriah Tracy, Conn.	26th		William R. King, Ala.
	John E. Howard, Md. James Hillhouse, Conn.	27th	66	Sam'l L. Southard, N. J.
(Abraham Paldurin Ca	28th	66	Willie P. Mangum, N.C.
7th " }	Abraham Baldwin, Ga. Stephen R. Bradley, Vt.	29th	6 6	David R. Atchison, Mo.
,	John Browne, Ky.	30th	66	David R. Atchison, Mo.
	Jesse Franklin, N. C.	31st	6.6	William R. King, Ala.
	Jos. Anderson, Tenn.	32d	66	William R. King, Ala.
9th "	Samuel Smith, Md.	33d	6.6	David R. Atchison, Mo.
	Samuel Smith, Md.	34th	66	Jesse D. Bright, Ind.
	Stephen R. Bradley, Vt.		66	Benj. Fitzpatrick, Ala.
	John Milledge, Ga.	99111	••	
Ċ	Andrew Gregg, Pa.	36th	66	Jesse D. Bright, Ind. Solomon Foot, Vt.
	John Galliard, S. C.	07/1	,,	
	John Pope, Ky.	37th	••	Solomon Foot, Vt.
12th " {	Wm. H. Crawford, Ga.	38th	4.6	Solomon Foot, Vt.
12011 {	Jos. B. Varnum, Mass.			Daniel Clark, N. H.
13th "	John Galliard, S. C.	39th	66	Lafayette S. Foster, Ct.
14th "	John Galliard, S. C.	40th	66	Benjamin Wade, Ohio.
(John Galliard, S. C.	41st	66	Henry B. Anthony, R.I.
	James Barbour, Va.	42d	66	Henry B. Anthony, R.I.
(James Barbour, Va.	49.3	66	(Henry B. Anthony, R.I.
	John Galliard, S. C.	43d	••	Matt. Carpenter, Wis.
17th "	John Galliard, S. C.	44th	66	Thos. W. Ferry, Mich.





IX.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

IN CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident-that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation, till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—2 right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions from within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws of naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction fo-

reign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing on us taxes without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:
For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies.

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and

settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connexion between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.





X.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

[Became operative the first Wednesday in March, 1789.]

PREAMBLE.

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

LEGISLATIVE POWER.

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Sec. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and, until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Sec. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and have a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to law.

SEC. 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SEC. 5. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SEC. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SEC. 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House

of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States: if he approves he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by twothirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and navs, and the names of the persons voting for or against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

POWERS OF CONGRESS.

SEC. 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing

for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive rights to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

LIMITATION OF THE POWERS OF CONGRESS.

SEC. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

LIMITATION OF THE POWERS OF THE INDIVIDUAL STATES.

SEC. 10. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

EXECUTIVE POWERS.

SEC. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or per-

son holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant with the same State as themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed: and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a

compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SEC. 2. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Sec. 3. He shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SEC. 4. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office, on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

OF THE JUDICIARY.

SEC. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Sec. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed in any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SEC. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SEC. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in

which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SEC. 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SEC. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected with the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory, or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SEC. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution; or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislature of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office, or public trust, under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratifications of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

President, and Deputy from Virginia.

New Hampshire—John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman. Massachusetts—Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King. Connecticut—William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman. New York—Alexander Hamilton. New Jersey—William Livingston, David Brearley, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton. Pennsylvania—Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris. Delaware—George Reed, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom. Maryland—James M'Henry, Daniel of St. Tho. Jenifer, Daniel Carroll. Virginia—John Blair, James Madison, Jr. North Carolina—William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson. South Carolina—John Rutledge, Chas. Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler. Georgia—William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest. WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

[The first ten amendments were proposed by Congress at their first session, in 1789. The eleventh was proposed in 1794, and the twelfth in 1803.]

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be put twice in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be

the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such a majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately by ballot the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by States, the representatives from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other Constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

But no person Constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

[Ratified in 1865.] ARTICLE XIII.

- SEC. 1. Neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.
- Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

[Ratified in 1868.] ARTICLE XIV.

- SEC. 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States. Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.
- Sec. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole

number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed; but whenever the right to vote at any election for electors of President and Vice-President, or United States Representatives in Congress, executive and judicial officers, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crimes, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in that State.

SEC. 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof; but Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SEC. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States authorized by law, including debts incurred for the payment of pensions and bounties for service in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned; but neither the United States nor any State shall assume to pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave, but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be illegal and void.

Sec. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

[Ratified in 1870.] ARTICLE XV.

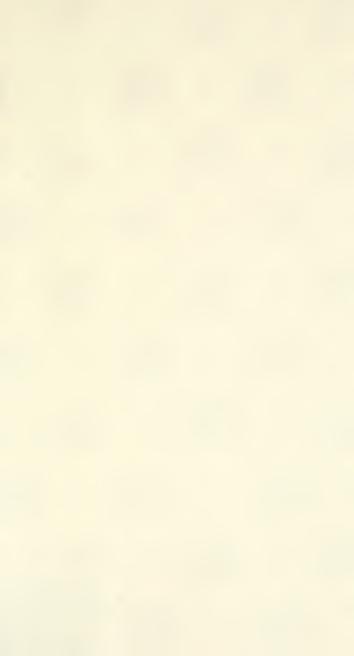
SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

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